

THE OTTOMAN OF LAZARO SORANZO.

Wherein is deliuered aswell a full
and perfect report of the might and
power of Mahamet the third, Great Emperour of
the Turkes now raigning : together with the Interesses
and dealinges which he hath with sondrie other Prin-
ces, what hee is plotting against the State of
Christendome, and on the other side
what we may practise and put in executi-
tion against him to his great damage
and annoyaunce.

As also a true Description of diuers peo-
ples, Countries, Citties and Voyages, which
are most necessarie to bee knownen, especially
at this time of the present Warre
in Hungarie.

Translated out of Italian into English, by ABRAHAM
HARTVELL.



LONDON
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*This booke was written by a
Senator of Venice*



TO THE MOST

Reuerend Father in God, the Lo.
Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace,
of all England Primate and Metropolitane, one
of the Lords of her Maiesties most honou-
rable priuy Councell, my singular good
Lord and Maister.

Most Reuerend father
in God, and my sin-
gular good Lord: It
pleased your Grace
in the beginning of
Michaelmas terme last, to demand
of me a question touching the Bas-
saes and Visiers belonging to the
Turkish Court, and whether the
chiefe Visier were promoted and
aduanced to that high & superemi-
nent authority aboue the rest, accor-
ding

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ding to his priority of time and antiquity of his being Bassa, or according to the good pleasure and election of the Graund Turke himselfe: wherein although I did for the present satisfie your Grace to your contentment by the smal skill & knowledge which I haue in those Turkish affaires: yet bethinking my selfe of this Discourse which hauing been by me translated out of the Italian tongue, had passed the Print, & had lyen by me these two years not published to the viewe of this English world, vpon some speciall considerations, that moued me for the time to conceale the same. I thought it would bee a very acceptable and pleasing matter now to thrust it forth, for the better satisfaction of your Grace and others, that are desirous

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sirous to vnderstand the ful truth & estate of that tirannical and Mahameticall Empire. The Booke was written and penned by one *Lazaro Soranzo* a Venetian Gentleman, in the yeare 1598. at what time *Mahomet* the thirde of that name, now raigning, was expected to haue intended warre vpon the State of Christendome, eyther in his owne persō, or by sending forth some one of his Bassaes or Visiers to bee his Generall in that action, whereupon the Gentleman author of this Discourse, beganne to enter into a very deepe and subtile consideration of all the designments & purposes which the Turke and his Councell had plotted at home, against the poore distressed seuerall States & commō wealths of the christian Empire: & hauing

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hauing performed the same did publish it in print for the general plesure & benefite both of his own country and also of al others, that may haue any interest in so waighty & important a busines: In which treatise if he haue somewhat trespassed by terms and wordes against the Calvinists, the error will soone be pardoned, if we shall remember that he is but a relator of others opinions & speeches, though himself indeed be greatly addicted to the popish religion, and the maintenance thereof. It containeth first a perfect and true discouery of the present estate, wherein that Easterne Empire now standeth, together with a speciall report of the reuenewes and forces thereof: secondly, the particular discourses, that were made, where,
and

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and vpon what parte of Christendom this war should be first attempted: and thirdly a most christian & resolute aduise giuen by the author to all Christian Princes, how they may cōbyne & confederate them selues together in this sacred war, & be able euery way to meete withall or any of these Turkish deuises & plots, wheresoeuer & whensoever they shall be put in practise, which aduise I wold to God might deeply and foundly sinke into the heartes and mindes of all our western princes, to the end they might ioyne altogether with prayer and force to eclipse that cressant Moone, being now (I hope) at the full, and according to the Turkes owne fearefull presages, as it is mentioned in the 83. page of this little worke, like vtterly
to

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to bee extinguished, whensoever
it shall please the Moderator of all
kingdomes to call away this present
fatall *Mahamet*, who dooth as yet
domineere in that vaste and huge
tyrannie. I was once minded (my
most gracious good Lord) to haue
added hereunto a more ample dis-
course of the estate, forces and reue-
nues of that Empire, comprehen-
ded in a Treatise (entituled, *Il Tur-
co vincibile in Hongheria, viz. That
the Turke is vanquishible and to bee
ouerthrowne in Hungary*) written by
an other Italian Gentleman, called
Achillis Tarducci of the Marqui-
sate of Ancona. But the time pre-
uēted me, so that I could not couple
them together, according to my de-
sire. And therefore I most hūbly be-
seech your Grace to accept of this
my

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my poore trauell, being performed
by starts and at idle houres, which I
should & ought to haue employed
in your more serious seruices: not
doubting but that (if it shall please
God to adde any more yeares to this
my *Quinquagenarian* yere of *Iubile*,
for which I most hartily thanke his
diuine Maiesty) I shall be hereafter,
if not more able, yet assuredly more
willing to discharge my dutie to
your Grace and my country, by do-
ing some further seruice, that may
be pleasing & acceptable to any in-
differēt reader. In the meane time, I
do hereby (as I am bound) wholly
deuote my selfe to your seruice, be-
seeching the Almighty still to pre-
serue & maintaine your Grace in al
health, honor, and happines, to the
continuation of the peace of this
english

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English Church, and the comfort
of all your friendes and followers:
Among whome I must acknow-
ledge my selfe, though the least
and the worst, yet in
all dutie and
affection.

Your Graces most loyall, faithfull, and
obediant servant, A. H.

At your Graces house in Lambhith,
the first of Ianuarie, 1603.



The Preface.

EVEN as for Princes that would learne
wel to gouerne and maintaine them
selues, as well in time of peace, as of
warre, there is no one thing more
necessarie, then the knowledge, first
of their owne affaires, and next of
the state of other principalities, (as
those do write, who haue the greatest understanding in ciuil
causes; & as Experience it selfe doth manifestly declare:) so
is it most fit and couenient for them, to vse their vitermost
care & diligence, that they may haue perfect skill & discre-
tion to iudge betweene truth and fallhood. For if the second
part of their knowledge, I meane touching other mens states
& Principalities: (for of the first it is not my purpose to dis-
course) bee not founded and established vpon truth, it will
neuer be possible that their counsailes shall sort to any pro-
fite or aduantage, because it is well knowne, that a false
information, either of a speech, or of an Action, or of a
place, may ofentimes breed no lesse damage, and daun-
ger, then a Counsellor that is either of small capacitie, or
else a lyer, or a Captaine that hath neither wisdom nor ex-
perience. And therefore verie greatly are those Princes to
be commended, who not onely endeuour to enforme them-
selues of the wittes and loyaltie of their owne seruants, but
also for the more certaintie how matters do passe in truth,
maintaine either at home in Court, or abroad in forreine
places,

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places. Men of learning, and of practise: the one for matter of Historie, and properly appertaining to good ciuill government, and the other for the knowledge of the estates, inclinations, designements, interests, treasures, armour, weapons, confederacies, preparations, and all the forces of other Princes: whereunto may be added also as a matter of great importance to know those Countries, which haue not onely beene knowne many a yeare ago, but also those that haue beene lately discovered, or may hereafter bee made knowne to the world. In respect whereof, assuredly aboue all other Don Iohn king of Portugall, and Isabell of Aragon, are most worthe of eternall memorie, for the discoverye of the East Indies, and of the new world, which was performed by their fauour and assistance. And the reason of that which hath bene said, is this, touching the first, because such matters hauing bene reported or written, for the most part either to please, or for some aduantage, or falsely penned by persons that neuer were present at the Action, or for feare haue concealed the truth, their reports and writings haue need of great caution & censure, before they be beleued: and touching the second, because one eye-witnes, as the Poet sayth, is more certaine & worthy of beleefe, then a thousand eare-witnesses, as they do most manifestly approue, who by the view of their own eyes, which they haue made in diuerse Prouinces, do find & acknowledge, that in booke of Cosmographie, Geography & Chorographie, there be many faults and errors to be noted in the gouernement of sundry principalities, in the maners and customs of diuerse peoples, and in the true situation of seuerall places and Countreyes: besides many other tales and fables, which are here and there dispersed, as well in writers of old, as in writers of late times, and onely because the Authours of them haue writ-

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ten and recorded either all these matters, or at least verie many of them, without euer seeing any part of them, but referring themselves wholly to the ancient descriptions, which indeed do not fully answer to the knowledge and experience of these dayes, and without iustifying the same by such persons as haue not onely seene them, which euery common Carsefeters and prating coufener, can also do: but also such as haue had the skill to obserue euery action, and an intent truly to report it againe. Homer called Vlysses a wise man, (which is the goodliest title that can bee giuen to a Prince, or to a Captaine) not because he had heard, but because hee noted and obserued the maners and customes of sundrie peoples, and sawe many Cities. And peradventure it was the reason which moued Plato to make a law, that none of his Citizens should trauaile abroad before hee was xl. yeares olde, to the end that being growen wise by age, he might with more iudgement obserue the affairs of the world, and then report them to his Countrey for the common benefite thereof. True it is that those Princes, which doe not willingly admit any trafficke with strangers, contrary to the law and course of all Nations, as for example the Moscouite, and Presbyter Iohn, but especially and aboue al other the Princes of China, who being strengthened by fortifications, and keeping continuall watch and ward for that purpose, will not suffer their subiects to passe or trauell into forraigne Countries, because they hold Platoes opinion to bee true, which he setteth downe in his common wealib, that strange fashions and customes may corrupt home-borne natures: such princes (I say) haue no neede in deed, to be any diligent inquisitors or searchers of other mens actions. But for other states, that with all humane intertainment and entercourse do admit all forreiners, and couerse kindly with them,

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them, and embrace their intereſts and confederacies, and therefore are more ſtrongly & entirely enforced of neceſſitie to guard themſelves from their neighbors that are of great power & might, to the end they may the better maintaine their owne ſeignicuries and dominions: for ſuch ſtates (I ſay) it is great reaſon & verie convenient, that they ſhould thoroughly informe themſelves, & endeavour to their uttermoſt, not only in generalitie, but alſo in every particularitie to underſtand all matters whatſoeuer which may be referred not vnto priuate Interreſtes and commodities, ſuch as matters of trafficke, and marchandizes be, but to the ſtate of the whole common wealth, which are properly belonging to Princes themſelves. For as we do read written Hystories to the end we may learne how to gouerne and manage matters, aſwell preſent as to come, by underſtanding and reading how things haue fallen out, that haue bene heretofore recorded in particularitie: ſo ought we alſo to knowe how the affaires of the world do preſently ſtand, to the ende we may provide remedies in time, and meete with all inconueniences according to the generall knowledge which we haue learned by our reading: for ſuch is the courſe and order of our knowledge, that by ſingularities we proceede to the notice of vniuerſalities. And therefore the Venetian Magnificoes, who are not meanely exerciſed and experienced in matters of ſtate, do not onely ſend vnto other princes ſuch Embaſſadors as are of quickewit and conceit, according to the cuſtome of other principalities, but alſo haue eſtabliſhed for a lawe, that at their returne they ſhall in the Senate make a true and particular report of the Prince and ſtate, with whom they haue bene Ledgers during the time of their Embaſſage: and ſo by that meanes they ſhall inſtruct the younger ſort, which are trained up in the ſtudie of politike

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politike affaires, to be the better enabled for the ſervice of their Countrey. And to the ſame purpoſe, that their Commonwealth may be alſo better gouerned, as well by the example of ſuch matters as haue already paſſed, as alſo by the freſh information of things preſently in action, they preſerue and keepe the ſaid writings with great faithfulneſſe and ſecrecie in a Register eſpecially appoynted thereto. And this was the cauſe, that I perceyuing how the actions of the Turkes, were publickly either too much extenuated and diminiſhed, or elſe beyond all truth magnified, and enlarged rather vpon want of true inſtruction and information, then vpon any ſting of paſſionate affectiōs, which oftentimes make report of many matters to diuerſe priuate perſons verie indiſcreetly, and inconfiderately, began to beſthinke my ſelfe, that it could not chooſe but proue verie profitable to the ſtate of Chriſtendome, if I would take vpon me the care to examine the preſent eſtate of the Turkiſh Empire, and endeavour to diſcouer the diſignements which that Prince hath plotted againſt the Chriſtians, in the beſt manner I could. And for aſmuch as it is not alwayes good, to giue too much credite to auncient Records, though they be neuer ſo true, becauſe Principalities and ſtates are eaſily altered and chaunged, either vpon the nature or diſpoſition of the new ſucceeding Prince, or vpon condition and circumſtance of time, or vpon ſome other accident: (yea and ſo much the rather, for that the Venetian records which were wont to be moſt faithfull and ſincere, are not now imparted or communicated to any man by a ſpeciall prohibition which they haue made amongſt themſelves, the auncient reportes alſo beeing now to no purpoſe, and the brieſe that is ordinarily deliuered abroad, being rather imagined and full of errors then containing matter of truth) I haue reſolved with my ſelfe,

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selfe, to be more diligently enformed, as farre as possibly I could, of all those particulars which I thought meet and necessarie to bee knowne in these times, because I am verily perswaded, that the present warre now in hand, is a matter of the greatest consequence that is at this time currant in the world. All which I haue done upon speciall and private conference that I haue had with persons of great experience and iudgement, who are lately come out of those parts, not trusting mine owne selfe in such matters, which I haue heretofore seene, and oftentimes verie deeply considered of. And so at last I haue reduced the whole into a brieue or commendious Method, for the benefit and seruice of Christian princes, & specially of those, who in regard of their interests with the Turke, haue greatest neede of such information. For seeing I was not able, by reason of mine infirmities, to follow the warres, as I ought to haue done, after the example of Benedict Soranzo my father, who died at the conquest of Gorzolari in fighting against the Turkes, yet had I a desire at the least to doe some seruice to the commonwealth, which alloweth it to be a matter lawfull for euery man to labour and write, as Polyænus of Macedonie writte to the Emperours Antoninus and Verus, rather then by choosing to liue idle and free to my selfe, I shoulde seeme altogether vnprofitable and vnfruitfull to all others. So did Diogenes, when the rest of the valiant and courageous Citizens were verie busie in defending the walles of their Countrey, he went vp and downe in the Market place, rolling his Tunne to and fro, because he alone would not be idle (as he said) whiles other were valiantly labouring with their weapons.

And therefore in this discourse or report, I will entreate of the Ottoman Empire and specially under Mahamet the
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third, untill the yeare 1597. The time I do of purpose set downe, because I know verie well, that the euent and successe of warre may alter many things, according to the mutabilitie of the Prince, or necessitie of sundrie occasions, which euen to this houre haue altered and changed sundry matters. And this will I doe principally and chiefly regarding that which apperteyneth to the knowledge of this present warre, which the Turke now wageth agaynst the Emperour, and the Transiluanian, or any other matter, which by occasion of the same warre may fall out to be considerable. For if I would haue undertaken a longer course, I should haue too much enlarged this volume, peradventure to the griefe and tedious conceits of other men. Besides that a great part of the remnant of this hystorie, I haue at large extended in other my writings, and part thereof I may perhappes performe in other occasions. Howbeit I will not forbear to tell you of many matters, especially of such as may be at all times profitable and beneficiall to all Christendome: to the ende, that as well those which liue at this day, as also those which shall succede vs in posteritie may in some sort reape some benefite and pleasure of this labours, wherein that I may proceed methodically, and orderly, I will distinguish and diuide this present relation into three parts.

In the first it shall be entreated of the Head, of the Members, and of the forces of the Ottoman Empyre.

In the second, of the Cogitations and Designements of the Turkish Prince: of the causes of this present warre, together with the beginning and proceedings thereof: wherein for the better vnderstanding of euery thing, the original of the said warre shall be fetched and repeated, euen from Amurath, father to this liuing Mahamet.

A

In

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In the third and last, it shall be discoursed, that suppose the Grand Turke will be reconciled, whether it be good for the Emperour, and the Transiluanian, to entertaine peace with him. Wherein also many matters shall be discovered, which (if the warre shall continue) may be plotted agaynst him by the said Princes, and which at all times may be practised by other Christian Princes, to meete with such perils and dangers as are now imminent, or any other which may hereafter light upon Christendome by the Ottoman forces.

An aduertisement to the reader.



Courteous Reader, if in all this discourse you do not read e, that *Mahamet Satarzgi*, (of whom mention is made pag. 9.) is now become the General of the Turkish campe. That *Sinan Cicala* (pa. 6. b.) beginneth to recover the fauor of the Emperour *Mahamet*. That *Hassan Bassa*, who had the gouernment of Constantinople in the absence of the great Turk (pag. 6.) was first created chiefe Visier, and afterwards put to death: And lastly, that the Prince of Transilvania hath surprised *Fenlac*, and *Canaal*, and such other like matters. And especially, that the Christian Emperour hath recovered the strong Fort of *Gianarino*, chiefly through the grace and fauour of God, and next by the notable valour and labor of *Adolph* Baron of *Schwartzenberg*, most worthy of eternall memorie: I pray you remember how the Authour in his former Preface doth protest, that touching certaine accidents he writeth no further then till the year 1597. wherein hee also dealeth like a Politician rather then like an Historiographer: & therfore referreth those matters to some other workes which he had then in hand. Farewell.

Errata.

page 27, b, 3, 82 4, as the Dutch do. Kiocai in Beluacensis.
 pag. 28, b, lin. 10. drinke for the Turkes, considering.
 pag. 34, li. 1. for Gally- Maues, read pilots.
 pag. cad. li. 3. for row them, read guide them.
 pag. ca 41, 27. three hundred thousand.
 pag. 47, b, li. 1. goodliest.
 pag. 40, li. 9. Fortes therein, which should be cited
 pag. 55, b, li. 23. the Turkes make cuery day.



THE FIRST PART,

Wherein is treated of the head, of
 the Members, and of the Forces
 of the Ottoman
 EMPIRE.

IN the Ottoman Empire, there
 new raigneth, *Mahamet* the
 third of that name: a name veri-
 ly no lesse dreadfull and terrible
 vnto *Christendome*, if ye obserue
 and marke the actions of the o-
 ther two former *Mahamets*, then
 fatall to the *Turkes* themselues, euen in their owne
 opinion: for they doe greatly feare, that as the Citie
 of *Constantinople*, had her second beginning and in-
 crease from one *Constantine*, and after wards was lost
 and destroied vnder another *Constantine*, both being
 the sonnes of two *Helenes*: and likewise the Empire
 of *Rome*, began in one *Augustus*, and ended in ano-
 ther *Augustus*; so this Citie shall be lost againe vnder

Mahamet, a
 name dreadful
 to Christians,
 and fatall to
 the *Turkes*.

The first part

a Mahamet, euen as it was with armes conquered by Mahamet the second.

§. I.

The nature & conditions of Mahamet.

THE now liuing Mahamet, Emperour of the Turkes, is by nature wittie, and by disposition fierce and cruell: but by accident myld, timorous, and greatly effeminated, as hereafter shall bee shewed plainly, by certaine examples of diuers matters that haue beene done by him, both before he came to the Empire, and also after.

Why he hated Nasuf-Aga, the Dwarf.

Mahamet, while he was but young, being shut vp into the *Serraglio*, and bearing great hatred against the Dwarf *Nasuf-Aga*, for the many fauours which he continually receiued at the hands of the Emperour *Amurath*, endeauoured so diligently to pry into his actions, as hauing obserued, that euerie day he sent out of the *Serraglio*, a basket of flowers, hee imagined with himselfe, that vnder those flowers, hee conueied forth some things of greater moment. And thereupon, one morning hauing staied the Carrier by force, and powred the flowers out vpon the ground, he found the basket full of Gold, and with exceeding indignation, accused him to his Father, telling him, that he was lesse fauored then his slaues: For (quoth he) they abound in that which is denied vnto me. And this he spake, because hee found his Father to be verie couetous.

Who were his grand-mother, and Mother.

Moreouer, hee was so haughtie and disdainfull, as he could not endure that his grand-mother, who was (if all be true) a Gentlewoman of *Venice*, and of the

of the Ottaman.

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the house of *Baffo*, should domineere in the Court, and ouer his Mother, who was born at *Rezi*, a towne in the mountaines of the *Ducagini* in *Albania*. In so much, as quarrelling with his Father for the same verie oftentimes, and ministring dayly vnto him new occasions of dislike and feare: (for the Ottoman Emperours are so iealous of their owne life and safetie, as both in regard of the common ambition of aspiring minds, as also, and much the rather of their owne particular and peculiar crueltie, they will not pardon nor spare their owne blood.) After hee was circumcised according to the Lawe of Mahamet, (wherat were present the Embassadours of the Emperour, of the *Moscouite*, of the *Persian Sophi*, and for the State of *Venice*, *Giacomo Soranzo* my vnkle, who in that businesse, had the chiefe place aboute the Christian Princes.) presently he was sent by his Father into *Magnesia*, there to abide and keepe his residence. But when he did there euerie day more and more discouer his fiercenesse and crueltie; by causing (sometimes in deed of an indignation and rage, but sometimes of a fantastickall humour) the teates of women to bee pinched off with hote burning tongues: by putting to a most cruel death, two thousand *Sofis*, (that is to say, Schollers) onely because they had made a signe vnto him of some vnchast cogitation: and by killing many other persons, vpon verie light and slender occasions: and finally when he shewed himselfe to be vtterly alienated from vnercall and wanton pleasures, and wholly occupied in Martiall actions: His Father grew into such a conceite against him, as adding thereunto sundrie

The suspition that Amurath had of him.

Examples of Mahamets cruelty.

B 2

other

The first part.

other weightie suspicions of secrete intelligences, which vnder the colour of friendship hee entertayned in the Court with *Sinan Bassa*, (he that surpris'd *Giauarino*, and died the last yeare :) entred into a cogitation with himselfe not onely to haue him better guarded, but also to deprive him of his life, if he did not change his course. Whereof being oftentimes aduertised by the Ladie *Sultane*, his mother, and also aduised by her to plucke this suspicion out of his fathers head by addiētting himselfe to pleasure, hee was obedient vnto her therein. And afterwarde he was so farre giuen ouer thereunto, as either altering or dissembling his proper nature, hee is by this accident, and of his owne accord growne to bee a most sensual Prince: and whether it be by habite and custome, or by enchaunting besotment, as some think, (wherein the Greeke, Hebrew, and Turkish Ladies are most cunning and skilfull,) hee cannot now liue, no not when he is in armes amongst his Souldiers, without those pleasures, not without communicating the most important secrets of his state with his Fauourites and Miniones: *Then which there is nothing more dangerous and pernicious to Princes.* Notwithstanding, I cannot agree in opinion with those who doe attribute the cause of this late going forth into the warres in his owne person, to this his sensuality: for there are diuerse other truer reasons, that may be alleadged of that his lingering.

§ II.

For *Mahamet* being now become a new Prince, determined to informe himselfe first before all other

Why Mahamet lingered his going to the warre.

of the Ottoman.

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other things, what were the forces of his state. Hee did well know the dislikes and braules which were amongst the Bassaes, and especially betweene *Sinan* and *Ferat*: in whose handes remained at that time the whole management of his Empire, as in due place we shall shew hereafter. There was in *Constantinople*, a verie great dearth of all things necessary for vittaile, and specially of bread. He perceiued that the subiects were much discontented for many debts, which his father had not payed, but afterwards he satisfied them himselfe. He was not fullie perswaded, what stirres the *Persian* might make, for the death of the young hostage *Haidar*, sonne to *Emir Hamze*, who was eldest sonne to *Mahamet Coda-banda*: which was thought to haue happened not without some suspicion of poysoning. Besides that his principall Captaines promised, that they would follow the warres without his presence: (for they thought, that so they might the more easily enrich themselves.) He gaue exceeding credite to the important counsel and aduise of *Sinan*, who had vowed the vtter ruine and destruction, not onely of the Prince of *Transilvania*, but also of the Emperor without any great difficultie: (and all this, because by continuing still in that supreme degree of gouernment which he then enioyed, hee might make his persō the greater.) Moreouer, most true it is, that *Mahamet* loneth peace: for that fiercenesse and crueltie which is naturall in him, and yet mollified by pleasure and ease, as Iron is by fire, is rather the disposition of a tyrant, then the hardinesse of a true warrior. And that was manifestly declared on a time, when

Why he killed one of his dearlings.

B 3

when

The first part

when one of his dearest women, with teares & most affectionate praiers besought him in his gardens, that he would not go forth to the warres, by reason of a certaine strange and wonderfull dreame which she had the night before: but hee, growing into a great rage, for that shee went about in such sort to hinder the glorie, or rather, (as he said himselfe) the safetie of his state, with his owne hand slue her: and did not sticke likewise to threaten his mother, that he would also kill her, though otherwise shee was greatly esteemed and dearly beloued of him.

He threatened
his mother.

How the au-
thoritie of the
visiers was
diminished.

True also it is, that it was most conuenient for him to applie himselfe to the necessitie of the time, because he was but little esteemed, and not so willingly obeyed by his subiects, as the most part of the former *Ottoman* princes were: by reason that the authoritie, which in times past was wont to be in the chief *Visier*, he suffered to be communicated and diuided among the other *Visiers*: so that whensoever any fauour or benefite was graunted to any by one of them, it was verie often repealed and reuoked by the rest: *A course that of all other doth soonest abate loue, and ingender contempt.* And so much the rather, for that his father *Amurath* had taken order that the *Visiers* might bee remooued vpon euerie light occasion, and had also brought vp a new custome to create many for money, and increased the number of them from foure to nine. Lastly, hee was enforced thereunto by the often chaunge and alteration, which he vled to make of his Heades and Captaines, either vpon some wrong information, that he had of the state, and of their natures, or else be-
cause

of the Ottoman.

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cause it is a naturall propertie belonging to the Turks to chaunge their honours, and also their purposes, according to the euent of fabulous Fortune. For hauing receiued diuerse and sundrie discomfitures, he was of opinion (and indeed he doth alwayes put it in practise) that with the alteration of the head, hee shoulde make the members more courageous and hardie.

But against all these reasons aboue rehearsed, there were other respectes that preuayled indeede with him, and caused him to goe forth to the warre: and in particular, because the Souldiours being poore, newe, and discontented with the auarice of the former Generals, desired greatly the presence of their Lord and Emperour: and that principally for the largesse and giftes, which hee vseth to bestowe vpon them, when hee is in the campe himselfe. Where hauing now at the last appeared in person, hee hath obteyned great reputation, hee hath cancelled the dishonourable opinion that was conceyued of him, and he hath yeilded a singular satisfaction to his subiects: and so much the more, for that he endeououred himselfe to gaine the beneuolence of his Souldiours, by shewing himselfe not onely verie liberall in bestowing largely vpon them, but also prouident and circumspect in walking on foote and visiting their lodgings. For which action being reprooued by some of his Counsellors, for that hee exposed and offered himselfe too much to manifest daunger, contrarie to the custome of his predecessours, hee answered them with the wordes of *Cyrus*, *That all those which followed him in*

How he ga-
ned the good
will of the
Souldiers.

seruice

The first part

service being his brethren, it was fit he should make as good account of them as of himselfe. Another action of his there was, which did greatly reconcile their loves vnto him, viz: that being in his iourney, one Euening hee mounted vp to the top of his Pavilion, and espied two Tentes of *Spahoglins*, disunited from the rest of the Campe, to murder and rob such as scatteringly went abroade from their lodgings: whereof being certainly assured, hee gaue them for a pray to the *Gianizzaries*, and afterwards caused their bodies to be fixed vpon stakes in the Campe.

How the
Turkes call
their Emperour,

Nowe to referre other matters to a more fitt place: hitherto it hath beene discoursed of the nature and conditions of the now liuing Emperour of the Turkes, whom they call *Sultan Alem* that is to say, *The Lorde of the worlde*, or (as others interpret it) *The Emperour of all, and King of Kinges*: and therefore they call him also, *Vlu-Padi-Schach*, that is to say- *The supreme or Soueraigne Emperour*: and to be short you haue here heard of the chiefe head of the present *Ottoman* Empire: For as touching his Children, although they doe also somewhat appertaine to the Head of this Empire, yet I doe not intend at this time to enlarge this discourse about them.

§ III.

The sonnes of
Mahamet.

ONely thus much I will say, that hee hath two Sonnes: For his first and eldest dyed not long agoe. The eldest of those that are aliue at this

of the Ottoman.

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this day, is of the age of 14. yeares or there abouts, and hath not as yet beene seene: for the sonnes of the great Turke may not be visited nor seene abroad publicly, vntill they be circumcised. And it is verie likely, that keeping companie (as hee doth) with many women, (among whome his greatest Favourite and chiefe Dearling, is one *La Flatra* a Gentlewoman of Cyprus) he is to leaue behind him vnto his successor, many other children, for matter of the vnuall and wonted Tragicdies of the *Ottomans*. But now I come to the members, and first to the Principals.

When they
may be seen
openly.

Who is Maha
mets chiefe
Minion.

§. IIII.

Many men hold an opinion, that this Empire wanteth verie good Captaines. Whereunto they are peraduenture induced, because they haue vnderstood, that there are now dead, *Piali*, he that attempted the Isle of *Malta*: *Mustafa*, he that suppressed *Cyprus*, *Pertaf*, *Ali*, and *Vlucchiali*, who were ouerthrowne in the Seaby the League of the Christian Princes, in the yeare 1571: afterwards *Osman*, *Ferat*, and *Sinan*, who performed memorable exploits in *Persia*, and else where: and hereupon they do thinke that together with these, there are wanting some valourous persons among the Turkes. A suspicion verily, not altogether varying from the truth. For most certaine it is, that the long and troublesome warre in *Persia* hath depriued this Empire of many warriours, that were of credit and valour: howbeit the power and mightinesse of this state being at the first instituted, and sithence encreased by

Whether the
Ottoman Em-
pire want
good Captains
or no.

C

armes

The first part.

How the
Turks arise to
militarie ho-
nours.

Armes, and hauing maintayned it selfe hitherto rather by force then by loue, all such as haue any spirite of glorie among the Turkes, applie themselves to warrefare, hoping thereby onely to grow rich, and honourable aboute the rest. For they are not the most noble among them, but ordinarily the most valourous (excepting those that serue in the *Serraglio*, and in the Chamber of the great Turke) that are aduanced to honours, which necessarily must haue infinite riches wayting vpon them. And thereof it followeth that this Prince can neuer want Captaines of approued experience and valour: and so much the more, because euen euerie priuate Souldiour may mount from one degree to another, yea, and sometimes also *per Saluum*, by *Skipp*, to the verie chiefe Generalship. But for as much as it is an ordinarie custome, that in all Armies the glorie is not giuen to any other, but to the chiefe Captaines, hereof it cometh, that because the most famous and best knowen Captaines were wanting, all (as it were) at one time, it is commonly reported, that this Empire wanteth other men, that are worthie of Militarie gouernment.

But I will put downe the names of the principals, which gouerne at this present: to the ende, that if perhappes they should die, or be deprived of their charges and places, yet in regarde of that, whereof they shall giue mee occasion to speake, the memorie and mention of them will serue mee to good purpose in this present discourse.

§ V

of the Ottoman:

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§ V

BEfore that *Mahamet* the Emperour departed from *Constantinople*, in the most important gouernment of that Citie, which is full of sundrie Nations, and humours, and is the seate of that most huge Empyre, hee set *Hassan Bassa*, the Eunuch, by Countrey an *Albanian*, of a towne of the *Cicalessi*, in the territorie of *Elbasana*. This man was *Bassa* of *Cairo*, in *Egypt* in the yeare 1582. at what time beeing recalled to the Court, because he was accused of diuerse misdemeanours, hee was in a great doubt with himselfe, and almost indeede resolute, cyther by fight to saue himselfe, or else to retyre towardes *Ormuz*, and so to passe into the *Indies*, but yet at last to Court hee went: where beeing imprisoned, and afterwarde raunfomed, by his Stewarde for fye hundred Crownes, and nowe againe by his witte remounted to so high an honour, he will (in mine opinion) passe a great way further, if he liue. He is a man verie wise and gracious: a greatemie to the Iewes, and a friend to the Christians.

Hassan Bassa
gouernour of
Constantinople

Which was
called *Hassan*
from *Cairo*

§ VI.

THE chiefe General in the Campe before the battaile at *Agria*, was *Hibraim*, borne in the province of *Herzegovina*, and cosin to the grand-Turke. Hee is a man of small braine, and most

Hibraim and
his toies.

C 2

vnfit

The first part

vnfit for any commaund: but liberall, and pleasant, or rather fantastickall and ridiculous. He calleth the Sate of *Venice*, and the State of *Ragugia*, his Cousins. He sayth he will take *Milan* with an Armada or fleet of shippes: and surprise the Isle of *Malta*, by making a mine vnder the Island: with diuers other such like fooleries. He sheweth himselfe greatly inclined to peace, not onely because he is verie timorous, but because he would please the Ladie *Sultane*, Mother to the great Turke, and also his owne wife.

§. VII.

Sinan Cicala, why he succeeded: Hibrain in the generalship, and chief Visiershippe,

Cicala degraded and confined into Bursa,

TO *Hibrain*, there succeeded *Sinan Cicala*, for that in the last fight with the Christians, as the one shewed himselfe verie vnfit for so principall a gouernment, so was this man iudged to be very valourous euen by the Turkish Emperour himselfe, because he had brought backe the Armie, saued him his life, and left the issue of the battaile, doubtfull. Whereupon he thought him worthie not onely of such a charge, but also of the chiefe Visiership. Yet at the last he was depriued both from the one office and from the other, because he went about (some what too boldly) to aduise and counsell the Emperour, that he would not giue so much credite to the *Sultane* Ladies, and especially to his mother, who, because they would not loose his companie, sought by all possible meanes to make him an effeminate and cowardly person; and in the end hee was banished into *Bursia* a Cittie in *Asia*, sometime the seate of the *Ottoman* Princes, where hee remained not with-

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without danger of his life. For the mother (*as women are wont to do, which either loue or hate extreemly*) ceased not daily to entreate her sonne, that he would cause him to be put to death, because shee could not endure that a slaue should be so bould, as to goe about to bring her into disgrace. This did *Cicala* feare, and great reason he had so to do, not onely in regard of the vnstayednesse and inconstancie of the Prince, and the great affection which he bare to women, but also because he knewe, that *Hibrain* being now returned to *Constantinople* at the instant suite of the *Sultane* Ladies, and especially of his wife, (for the chiefe Visier, being once displaced, cannot returne againe vnlesse he recouer his former degree,) he would continually persecute him, and foster the quarrels that were lately picked against him, by the adherents and followers of *Ferat*, who was an arant enemie to *Sinan*, with whome *Cicala* had combined himselfe, euen to his death. Notwithstanding *Cicala* being verie rich, of a good wit and great valour, and especially verie skilfull in Land warfare, as one that was trayned and brought vp in the wars of *Persia*: it is to bee thought that if hee can escape these first violences of his Lorde, he will with such dexteritie manage the matter as he will recouer that which is lost. For so did hee, after his depriuation from the Generalshippe of the Sea which was taken from him, not so much in regard of the suspition conceiued for his brothers going to *Constantinople*, as to giue satisfaction to the State of *Venice*, whome the Turke himselfe was verie willing to content. The malice, that *Cicala* bare to that com-

The first part

Why Cicala is
no great friend
to the Veneti-
on state.

mon wealth, beganne and was grounde vpon a discourtesie, that he tooke against them, whiles hee was but yong and a Christian, onely forsooth, because the Venerian Galeyes had detained a Galeon of his fathers. He is by his fathers side a *Genowaye*, but his mother was a *Turke* of *Castelnuovo*: and himselfe was borne in *Messina*. He is verie respectiue of courtesies, and reuengefull of iniuries offered vnto him. He hath to his wife a Neece of the daughter of the late *Ruslem Bassa*, and of a daughter of *Sultan Soliman*, shee that not long agoe, with incredible expences made a verie long conuayance of water in the desertes of *Arabia*, for the benefite and ease of the Pilgrimes, that go to the *Mecca* or *Macca*, as the *Arabians* tearme that Cittie, which ioyntly they call *Medina Alnabi*, that is to say, the Cittie of the Prophet, meaning thereby that *Impious Seducer Mahomet*. Which Gentlewoman being now mother-in-lawe to *Cicala*, is verie famous in these times, for that she was the chiefeest perfwader of the last Emperour *Amurath* to moue warre against the Christian Emperour, for the death of her onely deare Son, who was slaine with *Hassan Bassa* in the battail at *Cupa*.

Mecca in Arabia.

One occasion
of the present
war in Hungarie.

§. VIII.

There was Generall or rather Lieutenant for all *Hungarie*, from *Belgrado* hetherwardes, in the yeare last past one *Giaffer* the Eunuch, by Nation an *Hungarian*. He was deprived of that charge for the same reasons, for which *Hibraim* was deprived. Hee

Giaffer, why
degraded.

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He hath warred in *Persia* vnder *Osman*, *Sinan*, and *Ferat*, vntill he was made *Bassa* of *Tebriso*, now called *Tauris*: where being besieged by the *Persians*, hee shewed great valour, wisedome and liberalitie.

§ IX.

Hassan Bassa, borne at *Herzeconina*, sometime the Dukedome of *Santa Sana*, is now the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, as we call it, but of *Rumelia* as the *Turkes* tearme it: for the *Greekes* call that *rouaria*, which we call *Europe*, by which name [*Romania*] not onely *Asia* was called (as we reade in histories) after the translation of the Romane Empire to *Constantinople*, but also *Europe*, and particularly *Grecia*. This *Herzeconina* is a part of the Prouince of *Bosnia*, which stretcheth it selfe towardes *Ragugia*, in the high way that leadeth to *Constantinople*. The foresaide *Hassan*, was sonne to *Mahomet Soculenich*, so called of *Socol*, a place in the same Prouince of *Herzeconina*, and was sometime *Visier Achem*, that is to say, the head of the counsell, and chiefe gouernour of the *Ottoman* Empire vnder three Emperours: which office or charge the *Mamalukes* in the gouernment of the Souldan of *Cairo* do call *Diadar* or *Denidar*, and the *Grecians* call it *Protosimbolo*. Hee is verie well beloued of his Souldiours for his great pleasantnes & iollitie. Hee leadeth with him continually many women, and through his great expences is halfe bankrout. Hee hath bene in *Persia*, and was also in these warres of *Hungarie*: and being the greatest person among the rest of the gouernors of

Tauris.

Hassan (sonne
to *Mahomet
Soculenich*),
Beglerbey of
Grecia.

How the
Turks call him
that is chiefe
next after the
great *Turke*
himselfe.

The state of
Hassan.

The first part

of Prouinces (for dignitie and authoritie, and because his iurisdiction stretcheth into *Bulgaria*, *Serua*, and *Albania*) he keepeth a verie great trayne. First he was employed by the greate Turke at *Rasgrad* in *Bulgaria*, aswell to hinder the *Walachians* and *Transylvanians* from passing ouer the riuer *Danowe*, as also if occasion should so require, that hee might be there readie to passe it ouer himselfe. But now he hath hand-ouer-head and verie rashly without any consideration sent him to *Vidino*, sometimes called *Bidene*, a *Sangiackshippe*, not subiect to the *Beglerbey* of *Temesuar*, as some haue written, but to him of *Gracia*. If hee liue, he will proue without doubt the greatest Captaine of that Empire.

§ X.

Hafis Hacmet
why degraded.

H*afis Hacmat*, sometimes *Bassa* of *Cairo*, and *Eunuch* and an *Albanian* of the towne of *Vonari*, not farre from the *Cicalesti*, was Generall in *Croatia* and *Bosina*: but being accused of default for not hauing recouered *Petrina*, hee was degraded: yet now he is returned into fauour againe, and is in *Scopia*. He is a iust man and a wise, and one that for religion, or rather superstition accepted this charge. He was at the first a *Mahometane* Preacher, (for so signifieth the word *Hafis*.) He was the first man, that waged Turkish souldiours on horse-backe, with pay and prest-money: in which point, no doubt if the *Ottoman* Princes would resolue themselves to imitate our Princes, they might haue (as it were) an innumerable company of horsemen and footmen.

§. XI.

of the Ottoman.

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§. XI.

THere were also in the Campe of *Persia*, *Sinan*, *Bassa* of *Buda*, an *Albanian* of the Mountains of the *Ducagini*, a man esteemed among the Turkes to be wise and valourous: And *Mahomet Satarzgi*, an *Albanian* also: for the most valiant Capitaines of the Turkes are for the most part of that Nation. This *Mahomet* was a long time *Bassa* of *Caramania*, where he made himselfe knowne to be a man of great wisdom: but now soothing (forsooth) the humors of the Ladie *Sultane*-Mother his countrey woman, by shewing himselfe to be desirous of peace, hee hath not onely obtained the office of *Tzader Mechei Bassi*, that is to say, *Chiefe Master of the Pauilions*, but it is also thought that through the same fauour hee will be aduanced to greater dignities. They say, that while he was *Peich* to the great Turke, that is to say, his Footeman, hee bechauned himselfe so well in a fray that happened not farre from the olde *Serraglio*, where the Regall Palace is, as hauing hardly hadled his aduersaries with a Butcher's knife, he was thereupon called *Satarzgi*, or rather because indeed he was a slaughterer.

Sinan.

Mahamet Satarzgi.

Why fauoured by the Sultane mother.

Why called Satarzgi.

§. XII.

THere was also one *Haidar Bassa*, hee that beeing *Beglerbey* was sent by *Amurath* into *Moldania*, who by his maner of proceeding there was in a certaine sorte the occasion, why the *Polonians* resolued

Haidar Bassa.

D

ued

The first part.

ued with themselves to pay a yeare'y Donatiue or Beneuolence to the Turke, and so to bee agreed with him. He is now in *Persia*.

§. XIII.

Odauerdi & Velli.

There were likewise in *Belgrado*, *Odauerdi* and *Velli*, *Bassas* both, the one of them well tried in the warres of *Croatia* and *Bosna*, the other in the recouerie of *Madania* out of the hands of *Srenipetro*, who with a band of *Cosacthi* had gotten possession thereof, rather by rash temerity, then by any great wildō.

There are also in the Campe many other *Sangi-acchi* and ordinarie *Bassas*, whose names, because they are men of no great fame, are not yet come to our knowledge.

§. XIII.

Hassan: why he stirred vp the reliques of Mudahar to an insurrectiō.

Moreover, it is reported, that there is recalled from *Gemen* or *Gimin* in *Arabia Felice*, one *Hassan* an *Arabian*, a Foster-child and kinsman to olde *Sinan*. This *Hassan* hauing cunningly procured the reliques of the kindred of *Mudahar*, to rise vp in a commotion, who had also before rebelled against *Osman*, he obayned ouer them a very honourable victorie. And because he is verie rich, he will haue also some good meanes to maintaine himselfe, euen with the satisfaction of the souldiours.

§. XV.

of the Ottoman.

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§. XV.

Halil *Bassa*, Generall of the Sea, second Cousin to the now living Grand-Turke, is of *Bosna* or else of *Hungaria*, a Fresh-man, and such a one, as hauing hetherto had no more skill but to collect and take vp the donatiues and beneuolences of the *Marritime Capes* of the *Arcipelago* and of *Morea*, and this last yeare to set on fire the Monasterie of the *Calogieri* in *Strinali*, called in times past *Strophade*, because they had entertained the *Spanish Armada*: is held in no great estimation. And therefore it is supposed, that he shall be discharged of that office, & perhaps there shall be substituted in his place one *Giaffer* a *Calabrian*, brought vp by *Vlucchiali*: who although he fled at the ouerthrow in the yeare 1571. yet is he esteemed to be a man, that will proue well in Maritimeall warfare.

Halil Bassa general of the sea & his simplicitie.

Giaffer.

§. XVI.

OVt of all questiō, that Empire wanteth men that are excellent in the profession of Sea-matters, for so much as the Turke hath not since the yeare 1572. hetherto made any Armada or Fleet of any account: and when occasion of imployment faileth, no meruell though men of worth and valour be not known, nay though they do wholly want indeede. And yet when soeuer he shall be peraduenture enforced to set forth a good bodie of an Armada, hee may take that course which his Predecessors haue done, that is to say, he may vse the seruice of the valiantest *Pyrats*, that he entertaineth in *Tunise*, in *Bona*, in *Busca*, and elsewhere. Among whome the most famous that liue at this day are *Cara Deli*, *Amurath Bei*,

Captains at sea

Famous Pirats

The first part

Mahamet Bei, the three *Memi*, (whereof two are *Albanians* and the third is of *Corfica*.) *Sala Bei* & others. There is a certaine *French* politike author which writeth, that *Ariadino Barbarossa*, the famous *Pirate*, was allured by *Soliman* into his seruice, with verie honourable rewards, euen with the chiefe Generalship of the Sea, aswel to adde strength to his Empire with the great riches of *Ariadino*, as also to the end that *Ariadino* should thereby bee weakened in such sort, as he should not be any more able to annoy the *Ottoman State*.

And now after this discourse of the Captaines, I will speake of the common souldiours, and such members as are not so principall.

§ XVII.

Two sortes of souldiours of his owne and Auxiliarie.

Souldiours of his owne.

The Spahi.

What wages the Timari are

THE great Turke hath two sortes of souldiours: that is to say, souldiours of his owne, & souldiours *Auxiliarie*. i. such as come to aide and assist him. The souldiours, that are his owne, be either horsemen or footmen. I will therefore first treat of the former, because the verie sinews of that Empire consist wholly in the horsemen: and afterwarde I will speake of the rest.

The best horsemen, that the *Ottoman Empire* hath, are the *Spahi*, who liue vpon their *Timari*. For the great Turke giueth two kinds of wages to his souldiours: one is called *Timaro*, and the other *Vlese*. The *Timaro* is properly a certaine pension or an assignement of rents, which for the most part are leuied out of the lands that are gotten in war, and are proportionately distributed among the souldiours that are of good desert, & do answer in some sort to the ancient *Colonies* and to *Fees*, or rather to *Commendams*.

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of the Ottoman.

II

The reward, which the Romanes bestowed vpon their valiantest souldiours to enioy during life, was called *Beneficium*, and those *Beneficarii*, that were so provided for: the Greekes call it *Timarion*, and those that enioy the same *Timarati*, and *Timarioti*, deriuing the tearme from the Greeke worde *τιμη*, which signifieth Honour. Wherevpon we do read of *Theodorus*, (not the *Tiro*, but the *Stratelates*, that is to say, the Pretor or conductor of the souldiours,) that *Licinius Augustus* the Emperour, gaue vnto him a Castle in *Heraclea* for a *Timaro*, long before he was wickedly martyred by his owne band of souldiours, as it is written in *Phile* the Greeke Poet, *Damascene*, and *Nicephorus Calixtus*, and as it is read in the *Menaco*, that is to say, in the Monthly Register of the Greeks. The said word *Timaro* may also be deriued, and peraduenture more truly from the Turkish it selfe, whereby is signified a certaine kinde of procurement or prouision for some charge or gouernment, which the *Timarioti* are bound to haue ouer the lands that are graunted vnto them.

Niceph. Call. Eccles. Histor. Lib. 7. Cap. 44

The *Vlese* is a payment, which is daily disbursed by the Treasurers to the Souldiours that serue for pay, and to those of the Turkes Court, who are therefore called *Vlesezi*, or rather *Olephazi*, that is to say, provided as it were only for their diet, deriuing that term from the Greeke worde *ελεος*.

What wages the Vlese are.

The *Timari*, which the Turke hath in *Europe*, may bee some sixteene thousande. Euerie *Spahi*, that hath from three to fife thousand *Aspres*, of yearely rent, is bound to go to the war with one horse: from fife to ten thousand, with two horses, and so by

D 3

proportion

The first part

proportion to a certaine determinate quantitie: and some there bee that will carrie more or fewer, according to their abilitie, and the desire which they haue of honour. The greatest part of these *Spahi* are subiect to the *Beglerbey*, and may containe some nine thousande *Timari*: the rest are vnder the *Bassas* of *Bassina*, of *Buda*, and of *Temesuar*.

§ XVIII.

The Spahoglanis.

Besides these *Spahi*, there are also the *Spahoglanis*, who beeing such as commonly come out of the *Serraglio*, are somewhat more daintie and delicate, and are neatly apparraled like Courtiers after the *Persian* manner. They ride (like the *Asians*) vpon little Saddles, so that they may easily bee vnhorfed. In times past they were not bounde to go to the warres without their Emperour: but at last many of them were (as it were) enforced to goe forth by *Sinan* and *Giaffer*, for verie want of good Souldiours: who afterwarde wintered in *Seruaia*, and *Belgaria*, did so destroy and consume the Countreys and the Peasants thereof, as they did more harme to the Turkes themselues, then if they had bene the verie Tartarians, whose apparell also they counterfeited, to the ende they might easily and handsomly couer their misdeemeanours.

Among the *Spahoglanis*, are accounted those also which are of the great Turkes Court: who are distinguished into foure orders, viz. the *Selectari*, *Vlesezgi*, *Guraba*, and *Spahoglanis*. But because the number

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ber of the *Spahoglanis* is the greatest of al the rest, they are all generally and indifferently called *Spahoglans*.

The *Selectari* and the *Spahoglanis*, are diuided into troupes, v. z. the *Selectari* of the right side, and the *Selectari* of the left side: and so the *Spahoglanis* of the right, and *Spahoglanis* of the left: and different badges they haue one from the other. These foure troupes of *Spahoglanis* and *Selectari*, with the two troupes of the *Guraba* and *Vlesezgi*, make vp sixe in all. *Guruba* is in the Turkish speech the Plurall number of *Carib* and signifieth *Poore and naked soules*. And *Vlesezgi* is as much to say, as *Hyred*, or *waged*, as we haue tolde you before.

Euerie one of these orders hath his *Aga*, which commaundeth two or thre thousand horse.

§ XIX.

The *Acanzii*, are for the most part Countrey Clownes, and are not like the *Hayduches* of the Hungarians, as some haue written: for the *Acanzii* serue on Horsebacke, and the *Hayduches* on foote. And peraduenture *Giouius*, and other writers of our time do not well to call them *Venturieri*, or *Voluntaries*: for in consideration of some exemptions, and priuiledges which are graunted vnto them, they are bound to goe to warre. True it is, that sometimes they will stray abroad, and robbe the Countrey, as the *Zingari* and *Tartars* vse to doe. They are men of small woorth. They dwell for the most part in *Dobruccia*, a Prouince of *Bulgaria*, towards the River *Danow*.

The

The first part

The Gionli.

The Baratli.

The Muteferaga.
12 ga.

The *Gionli* are *Venturiers*, or *Voluntaries*, in deed, who together with sundrie others, whom the Turks call *Baratli*, that is to say, such as liue in expectancie, doe goe to warre euen of their owne meere good will. Among these, as also among the *Muteferaga*, (which are of the principall Courtiers of the Court, not bound to go to the warre, but only with the Sultan himselfe,) there are many Christians that serue voluntarie. They haue speciall exemptions and priuiledges. They go wandring abroad euerie where with great libertie, alwayes preuenting the armie, like Out-runners: but they giue the fift part of their bootie to their Lord. The other *Baratli* are comprehended in the families of the *Bassaes*, and *Sangiacches*, and in the number of the seruants to the *Spahi*.

§ XX.

The Timari
of Asia.

The *Timari* of *Asia*, may bee about some fiftie thousand: and so by consequent about a hundred and fiftie thousand horse and foote, and seruants: that is to say, two thirds more then the *Timari* of *Europe*. But they are vnarmed, of small valour, and not apt for warre, excepting onely some few of them that keepe vpon the Sea coastes, and serue in the *Galleis*.

§ XXI.

The Begler-
beyes of Asia,
of Africa,
of Europe.

The *Beglerbeyes* of *Asia*, before the last warres of *Persia*, were thirtie: but since there are some moe added vnto them. In *Africa* there are three: the kingdomes

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kingdomes of *Fesse* and *Marocco* are rather tributaries to the Turke: And in *Europe* there are sixe.

But because I haue made often mention of this worde *Beglerbey*, I thinke it will not be amisse to tell you what it signifieth.

The Turkish word *Beglerbey*, signifieth a Capitaine of Captaines, or Prince of Princes: for the *Beglerbeyes* are the Supreme Lordes ouer all that haue any militarie commaund in the Prouinces which are subiect vnto them: and are the verie same, that the *Melical Vmerca* be with the *Arabians*, and *ἀρχόντες*, with the *Greekes*. Three *Beglerbeyes* there be, that are in authoritie aboue the rest, and sit in equall place with the *Bassaes*, whome the Turkes call *Visiers*, when they sit together in the open *Diuane*, that is to say, in the Counsell or Court of audience in the presence of the Great Turke: some doe verie ill and corruptly call it *Douana* and *Tiphano*.

What Begler-
bey signifieth.

The Diuane.

The first of them is the *Rumeli Beglerbeg*, that is to say, the *Beglerbey* of *Romania*, or of *gracia*, or (as I tould you before) of *Europe*. He resideth in *Sophia*, which peraduenture may bee the auncient *Tibisca*: but it is not (as some write) the *Metropolitall* Cittie of *Bolgaria* or *Volgaria*, so called of the people that came thither from the riuer *Volga*: nor yet is it *Nicopolis*, which is so famous for the victorie which *Traiane* the Emperour had ouer *Decebalus* King of the *Dacians*. Neither is it true that *Sophia* is the same that *Scopia* is, which is a Cittie either of *Dardania* or of *Macedonia*, as other some haue written: nor was it *Sardica*, which is famous for the *Synode* there kept vnder the the Empire of the Sonnes of *Constantine*:

The Rumeli
Beglerbey.

E

For

The first part

For at this day that is not called *Sophia*, but *Triaditza*.

The Anatoli Beglerbey.

The *Anatoli Beglerbey* is the second, that is to say, the *Beglerbey* of *Notalia*, otherwise called *Asia* the lesse. He resideth in *Cutheia*, in former times called *Cotyao*, a Citie of *Phrygia*. Some call it by another name, and seate it (peradventure amisse) in *Galatia*.

The Denizi Beglerbey.

The *Denizi Beglerbey* is he that is the *Beglerbey* of the Sea, otherwise called, the *Captaine Bassa*. Hee resideth for the most part in *Constantinople*, which the *Turkes* by a corrupt word call *Stamboli*: and hath the chiefe charge of the *Arsenall*, or *Store-house* for shipping. Before that *Soliman* made him a *Beglerbey*, he was called the *Sangiaccob* of *Gallipoli*. He hath for his maintenance, the *Reuenues* of the office of the *Subassi* of *Galata*, that is to say, the *Treasourer* of *Pera*, which office is let to ferme, for the yearly rent of about some sixteene thousand crownes: he hath also the *reuenues* of the nine *Ilands* that lie in the *Arcipelago*, the chiefe whereof is *Nixia*.

And now, seeing we haue told you of the *horsesmen*, let vs tell you likewise of the *souldiours* that serue on foote.

§. XXII.

The Agiamoglani.

These are for the most parte *Giannizzaries*, which are drawne out of the *Masse* or company of the *Agiamoglani*, that is to say, vnexpert *youthes* culled out of the tenthes of the *Christians*. The rest of the *Agiamoglani* do serue in *Serraglioes* to row in the *Caicchies*, which is a kind of *Boate*, and to dresse their gardens, and to do such other seruices.

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ces. The greatest part of them haue not aboue one *Aspro* a day.

The *Grecians* call *Aspro* (and not *Aspero*, as some would haue it) the verie same money which the *Arabians* call *Osmanes*, and the *Turks* *Alice*, so termed for the whitenesse of it, because it is made of siluer. Of *Aspres* there bee two sorts, the lesse, and the bigger. The lesse are but of small goodnesse, and leantie, though they be most in vse, and common among the people. The bigger are of better siluer: and with them are payed the wages of the *Souldiours*, and the fees of the *Courtiers*. They are by some writers called *Siderocapsia*, of *Siderocapsa*, a Castle in the Prouince of *Thasso*, which is neere to the famous mountaine *Athos* in Europe, called by the Greeke *Ἁγίου Όρους*, *Mons Ægeus*, the *Goat-hill*, either because it reacheth into the *Ægean sea*, or because it is full of *Goates* and *Kids*: or rather, *Ἁγίου Όρους*, the *Holy hill*, commonly called by the *Turkes*, *Seitbag*, because there are on it three and twentie *Monasteries* of *Calogieri*, or *Monkes*, that loue to liue in the *Wildernesse*.

One *Aspro* is worth 24. *Manguri*: (the *Manguro* is a *Brasse-Money*, and is worth as much as the auncient *Numus*.) Five good *Aspres* in weight make a *Dramma*, or *Drachma*, (seven pence sterling:) twelue *Drammaes* make a *Taller*, (or a *Doller*;) and one *Taller* and a halfe make a *Venician Cecchino*, which is as much as a *Turkish Sultanine* being a coine of gold, and the greatest price that the *Turkes* haue, and is worth some sixteene *Paules* of *Rome*, or much thereabout. The *Soltanine* or *Soldano*, (as others tearme it) is truly so called of the *Sultanes*, that is to say, of the *Ottoman Emperours*, euen as the *Cecchino* is called a *Dukate*, of the *Dukes* of the *Venetian estate*.

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and

The first part.

and as the Bizantii, or Bizantini, in the times of the Grecian Emperours, were so called of Bizantium, now Constantinople: and were euen as much worth as the Sultani.

The diuerse values of these coynes at severall times,

Some writers there be, that haue set downe diuerse opinions of this foresaid account, because they haue had a consideration of their seuerall prizes at seuerall times. For some times the Aspro hath bene worth no more but onely eight Manguri, the Dramma but foure Aspres: Nine Aspres made a Taller: and so the Cecchino, as also the Sultani, were no more but 54. Aspres the peece. But now all these Monyes are altered: For the Taller is worth seuentie, or 80. Aspres: the Cecchino 110. 120. and 125. And this came to passe especially by reason of the heauie impositions that were imposed in Constantinople, by occasion of the Persian war. The auncient mony also that went currant in the Ottoman Empyre was prohibited, because it was stamped with sundry Images vpon it, which was forbidden by the law of Mahamet: but rather in deed, and in verie truth, because it was good siluer, and so by coynning it againe somewhat baser, the Treasurie and the Officers did gaine greatly thereby. But now (forsooth) they are not so superstitious as they haue bene: for they do holde that money onely to be good and lawfull, which is of the best alloy. This little I haue thought good to set downe touching their money, to the end ye might haue a persite knowledge of the true wages, which the Ottoman Princes doe giue to their Souldiours. The rest of this matter, togither with the Egyptian, Arabian, Sorian and Persian coines, that run currant thorough all this Empire, ye may haue (with the licence of the Venitian superiors) out of a late moderne writer: who if hee had not shewed himselfe somewhat irreligious, no doubt hee would

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would haue deserued great commendation for the knowledge that he hath disclosed in many Turkish matters.

The *Giannizzaries* then (as it hath bene sayd) are the best souldiours on foot, that the Turkish Empire hath. They serue as the *Pratorian* souldiours did, and the *Mamulukes*, for the sauegard of their Lord, and as did those valiant youths that alwayes accompanied the kings of *Persia*, who were called also *Ianitors*, or *Porters*, as saith the Authour of that booke, whose title is *De mundo*, among the works of *Aristotle*. And thereupon it pleased some peradventure to think, that the *Giannizzaries* were so called of *Ianua*: i. a Doore, alluding to the word *Porta*, that is to say, the Court of the great Turke, because his Court of Audience is ordinarily kept in the gate of his Palace. But in truth, they are greatly deceyued therein: for a Gate in the Turkish language is called *Capi*, and so is not *Ianua*. i. a Dore: and therefore the chiefe Porter is called by the Turkes *Capisi Bassi*. The word *Giannizzaro* is compounded of two Turkish wordes, *Iegni-Zeri*, which signifie *Noua Militia*, a new Souldierie: New, not because it was newly brought in, (for it was instituted euen by *Osmanne Gasi*, otherwise called *Ottoman*, and renewed, or rather bettered and enlarged by *Amurath* the first, vpon the aduice and counsell of *Cara Rustem*, who was then helde by the Turkes to be a verie holy man:) But new or fresh they are called, because the *Giannizzaries* are the sonnes of Christians, taken from their fathers whiles they are but children, by the Officers of the great Turke, as it were for a tribute, euerie fift or seuen yeare, and sometimes oftener: beeing of the age

The *Giannizzaries*,

Not so called of the worde *Ianua*.

The true Etymologie of the *Giannizzaries*.

The first part

some peradventure of eight, some of ten, some of twentie yeares, and some aboue. And afterwarde they are for the most part distributed among the Turkes in *Natolia*, to the end they may be instructed betimes in the lawes of *Mahamet*, learne the fashions and language of that Nation, and accustome themselves to labour and hardnesse, and then are they called *Agiamoglani*, as it hath beene told you before. When they are growne fit for the warres, then they are sent to the Court, to be admitted into the order of the *Giannizzaries*. Those that are not found fit for the warres, are sent to the Shippes, and to the Gallies, that they may be employed in the Arte of Seafaring. But they that are of a pregnant wit and good Spirit, are at the verie first shut vp in one of the *Serraglio*es of *Andrinople*, or of *Constantinople*, or of *Pera*, and so by means they come to be employed in the seruice of the great Turke about his Chamber, vnder the rule and subiection of certaine particular gouernours.

The Giannizzaries wages. &c.

The *Giannizzaries* haue for their stipend betwene five and fixe *Aspres* a day, and so haue the *Agiamoglani* likewise: but they are distinguished by liueries. For the *Giannizzaries* haue two liueries euery yeare, and the *Agimoglani* haue but one. The *Giannizzaries* doe handle the Arquebuse very well, and are properly called the Arquebusiers of the great Turkes guard. They will fight resolutely for honour. Some of the *Giannazzaries* remaine in the frontiers, and in Garisons: some of them also keepe on the sea, and serue in the Gallies, but the greatest part of them are resident, where the great Turke is: and hereupon

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it commeth that there are so many in *Constantinople*, where principally they may sooner become *Giannizzaries*. But those that are made *Giannizzaries* at *Damasco* at *Cairo* & elsewhere: perhaps, when they come to *Constantinople*; vnlesse they be there confirmed, may not wear the *Coyffe*, which is called *Zarcu-la*: the last time that they wet out to wars with their *Aga* (a thing not verie vsual) they rather caused great disorder, then did any seruice: partly because they do not willingly obay their Generall Captaine, (who by the *Persian* word they call *Ser-Dar*, and by the *Arabi*ke *Ser-Asker*:) and partly because in our times their order is indeed imbastardized, and nothing so valourous and faithfull, as it hath beene heretofore.

Their Captaine Generall.

Aga, is the name of the *Giannizzaries* Captaine, and is the chiefe of all the *Agalari*, who are principall Horsemen, that alwaies accompanie the person of the great Turke, and are so called of the word *Aga*, which signifieth a staffe, and is a token of the authoritie which they haue ouer the *Chiliarches*, the *Tribunes*, and the *Droncarii* or *Troncarii*, so tearmed a *Tronco*, of a Bastone or *Tronchion* which they carie in their hand.

What *Aga* is; and what *Agalari* are.

Moreouer the *Giannizzaries* are verie insolent, not onely towards priuate persons, who greatly respect them per-force, but also towards the great Turke himselfe. For hauing in their hands all the principall forces of the *Ottoman* Empire, and being verie seldome, or verie seldomer chastised for any fault and thereupon knowing themselves to be very mightie and greatly feared, they haue not forborne many times to threaten, that they would depose their great Lord and Maister, and set his Son in his throne:

The insolence of the *Giannizzaries*.

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throne: yea and verie oftentimes they haue violently with most barbarous furie enforced their Emperour to yeelde vnto them in most vnrighteous causes: As for example, (to leaue those that are auncient,) they so dealt with the last *Amurath*, as they compelled him to giue them into their handes either quicke or dead, the chiefe *Dephterdaro*, and *Mahamet Bassa* the *Armenian*, (a man whome hee loued beyond all measure,) accusing them, that through their fault, they were not payed their wages by them with good monies.

The Dephterdari. *These Dephterdari or treasurers are three, one is the chiefe, and as it were the President of the chamber, the other two are as Collegues or Asstants in the Exchequer.*

It hath fallen out also, that they are thus become the more sedicious and insolent, because the number of them is greatly encreased and multiplied, and that through the default of the officers that are sent to make the choice of the youthes: for they doe not choose the best and the most able for warfare (as it was wont to be vsed in times past,) but such as they may haue for want of better men, shuffling in oftentimes, by fauour and bribes, many natural borne Turkes, and sonnes of the *Giannizzaries* themselues: as indeede it came to passe in these last yeares, wherein they haue had no consideration of any other thing but onely of the disposition of bodie, and ripenesse of yeares, to the end they might the sooner shew themselues in the warres, and so passe for old and experienced souldiours, though in truth vtterly voide of any militarie discipline.

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§. XXII.

SOME *Spahi* there be also, that serue on foote, as those which are at *Negroponte*, *Misitra*, and other maritimall places, and are emploied for ouerfeers, of the *Gallie-Slaues*: they are subiect to the Captaine of the Sea.

There is likewise an Infanterie or company of footemen in the Garrisons, which is comprehended vnder the name of *Asappi* and of *Besli*. The *Asappi* or *Asepi*, are not the same, which the *Hungarians* call *Hussaroni*, as one *Greek* author hath written: for the *Asappi* go to warre for wages on foote, but the *Hussaroni* on horsebacke.

Asappi & Besli footmen.

§. XXIII.

FINALLY the last *Amurath*, perceiuing that he had not such a number of souldiours of action and service as that Empire was wont to haue in times past (for the reasons which I will touch hereafter) hath brought in a new kind of souldierie, both of foote and horse, consisting of townesmen and peasants being naturall Turkes: and hath granted vnto them many priuileges of profite and honour, calling them *Culcardasi*, a word that signifieth, brethren to *Slaues*, proper onely to the *Slaues Rinegate* and is a most honourable tearme among the Turkes.

The Culcardasi.

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§.

The first part

§. XXIII.

Souldiours in
Africa.

IN *Africa* the Turkes haue either no horsemen at all, or else verie few: but some footmen they haue, which remaine in the Garrisons of *Algieri*, of *Tunisi*, of *Tripoli*, of *Goletta*, and of other places on that coast: where for feare of the *Spanyardes*, who are verie well fortified with Garrisons, and strongly fenced in those parts, because they are afraid of loosing that which they haue there in possession, it is verie necessarie & behouefull, that they should continually reside and stay.

And these are the Souldiours as well horsemen as footmen, whom the Great Turke may vse in his warres as souldiours of his owne. Touching whom I am to aduertise you, somewhat of mine opinion.

§. XXV.

The Authors
Aduertisements
touching the
Turkes souldiours.

First, that the said souldiours are rather in opinion and fame, so great a multitude as verie many haue reported them to be, then in truth they are: for as much as good souldiours there are but few: meane souldiours not many, and of such as make a multitude, namely seruitors, victualers and others that follow the armie, a man should make but small reckoning.

Secondly that the horsemen, in whome principally consisteth the power of that Empire, are not at this day so lustie, resolute, and painfull, and to be shorte nothing at all such as they were wont to be, for that they haue been greatly wasted and consumed in the wars

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warres of *Persia*, and particularly in this war of *Hungarie*, where barley was so scant, and all other kinde of victualles, for men, horses, cammels and other cattell verie deere.

Thirdly, that the *Spahi*, who are the best horsemen that the great Turke hath, haue not had any meanes to buy good horses, not only by reason of the dearth of all things, (which I tell you was verie great) but also because all their good horses are spent and consumed, neither haue the *Spahi* any commoditie, or benefit to maintaine them withall, or to buy them any new, but only that which they default out of their *Timari*. Moreouer, they being become men now a dayes greatly giuen to ease and to gaines, do not sticke to take money to interest, rather to the end they may buy some *Timari* withall then buy any horse-flesh with it, yea and to lend it out at vsurie to others that afterwarde become bankrouts. And although peradventure it may seeme to some, that in these last yeares, the horses were many: the cause thereof was this, that the Turkes are now become so tender and effeminate, (especially since the *Delicacies* of the *Persians* haue wrought euen the very selfe same effect in the, which riot and excessse wrought among the *Grecians* and the *Romanes*) that eucry man (for sooth) will carie with him to the wars, so many easments of bedding, kitchen & victual, that they are enforced to vse many horses for those purposes: neither is there any horsemen; (be he neuer so arrant a clown or peasant) but he carrieth more the one with him: & yet all of them (God wot) stark nought, very leane, & altogether vnseruiceable, as we haue tould you, & as the experience of the battail of *Agria* hath

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manifest-

The first part.

manifestly proued.

But forasmuch, as touching the diminution of the Ottoman armies, diuers men do diuersly reason, it will not be perhaps far frō the purpose, or at least not incōuenient, if I tel you also what I thinke of it.

§. XXVI.

The Authors opinion touching the decreasing of the Ottoman Armies.

VWithout all question the Ottoman Empire doth want of that number of souldiours which it was wont to haue in their armies. And the reason of it is this: 1. that the Turkish estate being now greatly enlarged, those Turks, who in times past for the straitnes of rowme & narrownes of the countrie, ran all to the wars like the *Tartarians*, haue now gotten more ease, greater pleasure, & better countrie the they had before, so that they do not verie willingly resolue with theselues to leaue their own houses, & to go to the Campe. 2. Moreouer the countrey by reason of the largenes thereof is so far distant & as it were diuided frō the places where they must fight, that it breedeth great tediousnes in the to go to the wars: & to people or to replenish it al with inhabitāts it is a very hard matter, especially cōsidering that the Ottoman Princes haue alwaies vsed to extirpate & (as a man may say) vtterly to root out the ancient inhabitants, of any new Prouinces, which they haue cōquered & gotten into their possēssion: or at least to transport the into some other countries. 3. Ye may also adde hereunto, that the Cōmoditie & encrease of the countrey hath opened a way to the Turks for diuers other, and greater traffiques then they had in times past: wherein the greatest part of the being employed, they cannot so easely bee resolued now to leaue the & to go to fight, vnlesse they bee enforced

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to it against their willes: because by that course they must seeke to enrich themselues with more incertaintie and greater hazard of their liues, then by this of traffike. 4. Besides all this the Turkish armies consist (for the most part) onely of Rinegate slaues, and those, Christians: for the Turkes do not make any slaues of the Persians or Tartarians, because they will not part or diuide with them their Militarie honours and aduancements, wherein all the riches, credit and authoritie of their estate doth wholly consist, and wherewith that Empire doth counterpoise the perill and daunger, whereunto it might bee subiect, if they should admit so great a number of armed *Rinegades*. 5. Those of *Asia*, who in times past were wont to execute all Militarie functions, are now held in small reputation, or none at all, euen as the naturall Turkes are, and esteemed to be verie base minded and cowards, no lesse tender and effeminate, then the auncient *Asiatici* were thought to be: and therefore they graunt vnto them onely the honours of *Cadileskieri* and *Cadi*, excepting some few, that are admitted to be souldiours, and do serue the *Sangiacchi*, and the *Bassaes*, who ordinarily and for the most part are themselues slaues of *Europe*, and sent to be gouernours in diuerse places of *Asia*.

The *Cadiliskieri* (or as the Arabians call them) *Cadiliskieri*, that is to say, chiefe Iudges in the Ottoman Empire, and the ordinary Iudges of causes both Civil and Militarie, are two, the one in *Natolia*, and the other in *Romania*. He of *Cairo* is not properly called *Cadiliskiero* (as some haue written) but the *Graund-Cadi*, and was instituted by *Selem*, after that he had subdued a great part of the Armenians, the *Aegyptians*.

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tians, the Sorians, and the Arabians.

Why Greece
is not now so
well peopled
as it hath bin.

And although there be some, that do attribute the want of Turkish Souldiers, to the diminishment of men, by example of the *Arcipelago*, and of Greece, which is for the most part disinhabited, and of all Macedonia, which is the best part of the Turkes possessions: it may be answered, that Greece euer since those times wherein the flower of her greatnes and Maiestie was extinguished, hath also remained so barren & void of men, that it was neuer so reinhabited as it was before. *Paulus Æmilius* in one onely day destroyed threescore and ten Cities in *Epirus*: and many Ilandes there be, which are vtterly waste, and not habitable for barrenesse. Besides that, the Ciuill warres of the Romans, the simplicitie of the Greeke Emperours, the *Armadaes*, and fleetes of the Saracens, and also of the Latines, and last of all of the Turkes, together with the notorious iniuries of rovers and Pirates, haue neuer suffered those Ilandes, and the rest of that most populous Countrey, so much as to take breath.

How it com-
meth to passe,
that the Turkes
countrey is so
much disin-
habited.

True also it is, that a man may walke many a mile through the Turkes Countrey, and find neither men nor houses. But the reason of this is, for that the Inhabitants hauing left the townes and walled places, which are situate either vpon the beaten and common high wayes, or very neere vnto them are cloyed as farre of, and haue scattered themselues further within the countrey, and retired into places among the Mountaines that are more strong, where they haue settled themselues in verie populous numbers, because they would be safe & secure from the murderers

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thers, and robberies of the Souldiers: who are wont euen among the Turkes (I would to God it were not so also among vs Christians) to liue at their owne discretion, without all discretion, spoyling and wasting whatsoeuer they can attaine: for such is their vice and wickednesse, not the profession of true Souldiers, as more at large I haue shewed in my booke called *Militia Christiana*, Christian Souldierie.

And these are in mine opinion, the most certaine and true reasons of the Diminution of the Ottoman armies: but why they are now so full of people that are poore, and as it were vtterly spoyled, this reason may be ycelled, viz. for that onely men of euill disposition, and such as are the basest persons, and of no woorth, runne headlong to their warres. And so much the rather, for that the *Spahi* themselues doe send thither in their owne rowmes their seruants & knaues, who together with the rest of the Souldiers, haue no sooner taken a bootie (or peraduenture no sooner want an occasion to catch a bootie) but they will flie out of the campe, and retaine home againe. As for example, the souldiers of *Sinan* did in *Walachia* the last year, who hauing nothing left, but their shirt-sleeues, and being almost vtterly spoyled: because they would not die for cold and hunger, and because they found nothing to steale for their relief in the fieldes, began almost euen at the first to forsake him: yea and at the returne of the great Turke himselfe from *Belgrado* to *Constantinople*, all the souldiers almost would needes follow him, and none of their Captaines were able to hold them.

Why the
Turks armies
are so full of
poore rascals.

Now that I haue tolde you of the Souldiours, which
the

The first part

*the Great Turke hath of his owne, I wil tell you of his
Souldiers Auxiliarie.*

§ XXVII.

Souldiers
Auxiliarie.

AMong all the *Auxiliarie* Souldiers, whose service and helpe hee useth in his affaires, without all doubt, the chiefe, the most in number, nay the onely men are the Tartarians: the knowledge of whom, because it is not peradventure so manifest to euery man, I will truly and faithfully display, as I haue done in all things before, and will doe also in those matters which are to bee set downe hereafter: following that which I haue learned and vnderstoode from many persons that are verie worthy of credite, and haue had long practise and traffike with the Tartarians themselves, and auoyding especially those fables, which diuerse men haue written of them. I will adde also thereunto somewhat of the Circassians, as partly depending vpon them, and likewise of the Curdians, of the Drusians, and of the Arabians.

But because there be diuerse sortes of the Tartarians or Tartars, so called peradventure, because they are the Reliques (as the worde in deede signifieth in the Syrian tongue) of those Israelites, that were transported beyond Media being then not inhabited: I will treat but onely of those that serue for our purpose. And those bee they, which are subiect to a King that keepeth in *Taurica*. Whereof some doe dwell in *Europe*, and some in *Asia*, betweene the Poole *Meotis*, called at this day *Mar Delle Zabacche*: the Riuer

of the Ottoman.

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Riuer *Tanais*, called by the Tartarians *Don*: the riuer *Volga*, which they call *Rha*, and *Edil*, and the *Mengrellians*, and *Circassians*: and all these are called *Nogai*. For the other *Tartarians*, on this side and beyonde the *Volga*, betweene *Moscouia*, and the Sea of *Baccu*, that is to say the *Caspian* Sea, and the *Georgians* are partly subiect to the *Moscouite*, partly free and of themselves, and partly vnder the iurisdiction of the Turke, there where *Demir Capi* standeth, sometimes called the *Caspian* or *Iron Gates*.

This foresaide King is called the *Tartar* of *Crimo*. Nowe *Crimo* or *Kriim* (call it as you list) is the chiefe and principall Cittie of all the Kingdome, although hee bee resident for the most part in *Iegni Bascca*, a place in *Chersonesus Taurica*, called at this day by the *Polackes* and *Russians*, *Perocopska*. The *Crimo* is beyonde that, neere to the Ditch, whereof the *Tartarians*, especially by the sayde *Polackes*, and *Russians* are called *Precopsi*, which is as a man may say *Zappahsi innansi*, Digged or delued forth, so tearmed of the worde *Procop*, which signifieth a hollowing or a digging, and not of a certaine King of theirs, whom some will needes haue to bee one *Procopio*. Neither is it true (as others affirme) that such a Ditch was made but of late, as it appeareth by *Herodotus*, where hee maketh mention of the Market of *Cremne*.

The tytle of the *Tartarian* King, is *Han*, (which signifieth a Lorde) and not *Chan*, vnlesse wee will

G

pronounce

Crimo.
Iegnibasca.

Why the Tartarians are called *Precopsi*.

The first part

The title of
the Tartar
king.
Han,
Kiocai,
Zar.

pronounce C. for H. as the Italian vseth sometimes to doe in certaine Latine wordes : or with a more harde pronounciation as the Dutch doe *Kiocai*, in *Beluacens* is signifieth *Kioc-Han*, that is to say, *Gog-Han*, a worde familiar and welknown in the holie Scriptures. *Ezekiel*. 38. and 39. *Reuel*. 20. The *Polacckes* call him *Zar*, that is to say, *Caesar*.

The surname
of the Tartar
King.

The Familie or house of the *Tartar* King, which giueth him his Surname, is *Kirei*: whereuppon they haue beene called *Mahomet Kirei Han*, *Islam Kirei Han*, *Hassan Kirei Han*. The King nowe liuing is called *Alip*: So that by his stile, you may call him, *Alip Kirei Han*, i. *Alip Kirei the Chan*, as in Fraunce *Hugh Capet* the king, *Henrie Valois* the king, *Henrie Bourbon* the king, &c.

Which part of
Taurica be-
longeth to the
Turke, and
which to the
Tartar.

The coast of *Taurica*, that is watered with the Blacke Sea, till yee come to the streyte of *Ofphorus*, (which is the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*) at the entrance of the Poole *Maotis*, belongeth to the Turke: But betweene the Continent, and that part which is watered with the sayde Poole, belongeth all to the *Tartar*, although many Christians that vse the Greeke rites and ceremonies, doe dwell there also.

VVhy the
Moscouite
feareth the
Tartarians.

Of these *Tartarians*, the *Moscouite* standeth in greate feare, because with sundrie In-roads they enter into his Countrey, and carrie away manie of his Subiectes, to sell them afterwarde to the Turkes, and others: and in the yeare one thousand siue hundred and seuentie: they burnt the very
Citie

of the Ottoman.

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Citie of *Mosco* it selfe: howe much more then woulde hee feare them, if hee shoulde goe out of his owne Countrey: In deed the *Moscouite* may annoy the *Tartarians* that dwell in *Asia*, and keepe them from dooing any hurt to the Christians vpon the banke of *Volga*, where they are to bee founde as soone as they haue passed ouer the Riuer. And herevppon it commeth to passe, that they goe out but in a small number. and that in this present warre, the report of their multitude is farre greater then in truth it is.

These *Tartarians* that are vnder the *Moscouite*, are those of *Cassan*, *Asdrahan*, and *Citrah*: of whome, because they serue not to our purpose, I will not say anie thing at this time.

The *Tartarians* of *Europe*, that dwell in *Taurica*, and out of *Taurica*, from the Poole *Maotis*, to the greate Sea, can not bee hindered by the *Moscouites*, without the good leaue and pleasure of the *Polaccke*. For they must needs passe through his Countrey, eyther by the way of *Smolensko*, or else somewhat lower, by the way of *Tanais*, neerer to the Poole. But those wayes are verie difficult, both in regarde of the Riuers, and also of the Fennes and Marishes: and besides that, they are verie long. And these are the verie selfe same *Sarmatians*, which are of *Sarmatia* in *Europe* and *Asia*: For the Auncient Writers doe make *Scythia*, and *Sarmatia*, to bee all one.

G 2

The

The first part.

The Tartari-
ans weapons. The Weapons of the *Tartarians* are Scimitarres
and Bowes. And because they want that quan-
titie of Steeles both of wood and Iron, whereof
they haue great neede to make their arrowes
withall, they make them of Reedes, whereof
they haue great aboundaunce. They are ve-
rie keene and sharpe, which they can handle
verie well and nimbly, as well in shooting
them forth outright, as also backwardes, when
they make as though they woulde retyre and
flie away: which kinde of fight they vse more
like to theewes then souldiers.

They all ride on Horsebacke: their horses
are small, and vnshodde: when they passe ouer
the Ices, which in those partes are verie great, they
driue a crooked nayle into their horses feete, to
auoyde the daunger of slipping: couragious
they bee, and verie apt to labour, and take
paynes.

XXIX.

Why the
Turkes vse the
seruice of the
Tartarians.

THE Turkes vse the *Tartarians* in their warres,
both because they are all of one offspring,
(for *Mahometanes* they bee all:) as also, and
especialllye because they shoulde not vnite them-
selues with their enemies agaynst them: for
they are the onelic men whome the Turkes doe
greatliest doubt: and the rather, for that (as
Sultan

of the Ottoman.

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Sultan Soliman saide once in a Counsell which hee helde in his owne presence, touching those Princes whome the Ottoman Empire ought chiefly to feare:) the *Tartarians* may of a soden runne with infinite numbers euen to *Constantinople* it selfe, and arriue there, before that euer the Turkes can be prepared for defence against them. And hereupon it commeth to passe that the Turkes do endeouour by all kinde of good offices to hold them in friendship, and to be allied with them in mariage: (for in that respect *Solimans* mother was married to his father, she being a *Tartarian*, and the daughter of *Mehe- met Kirei*;) the Turkes also for the same reason doe bestowe diuers contributions and beneuolence vpon the *Tartarians*, yea, such and so great, as in the time of warres a Leauie of the *Tartarians* is verie costly to the great Turke, because hee must of necessitie giue them so much, as may bee sufficient not onely to maintayne themselves, but their wiues also and children which they leaue at home: so that to tie them the faster and safer vnto them, besides the bonds of alliance and kindnesse they are enforced to vse this necessarie exigent, whereas on the contrary side, in the time of *Soliman* the *Tartarians* were enforced vnder *Sedac Kirsi* to gratifie the Turke.

The *Moscouite* and the *Polack* likewise do bestow great gratuities vpon the said *Tartarians*, for feare of their soden in-roades which they may make vpon them in the time of haruest.

The *Moldauian* also, although hee pay tribute to the Turke, yet is he bound in many respects to gra-
tie the *Tartarians*, who are in those parts none other-
wise

The first part

wife held to be friends to any, then the *Switzers* are to the Princes in our countries

The voyage that the Tartarians may make into Hungarie.

But because the passages of the *Tartarians* into *Hungarie* in this time of warre, are diuers and vncertaine, and so may also be in times to come, it shall not bee vnfruitfull and inconuenient, if I touch the courses and voyages, which they may take, to the end that we on our side may the more easily endeavour and prouide either altogether to hinder them, or at least to make their arriual there to bee more difficult vnto them.

§ XXX.

Through the Polack countrey inhabited:

By Russia and Podolia.

By Premisla.

By Sambur.

Through the wast Polack Countrey.

By Seuerino.

THE *Tartarians*, when they will ioine theselues with the Turkish armies, must needes of necessitie passe through the *Polack* countrey, either inhabited, or wast and desert. The countrey inhabited, is *Russia*, & *Podolia*, two Prouinces. which are on their right hand. They may passe also on a soden vnder *Premisla*, by the vallies that lead into vpper *Hungary*. But both these former waies may be easily stopped by the *Polackes*, and the last also by the *Imperialistes*, and the *Transylvanians*. They may likewise passe at *Sambur*, or somewhat neerer to *Transylvania*: but this is a more difficult way then the rest.

Through the wast or desert countrey, they may passe two wayes, the one farre from the Sea, the other nigh to the Sea. If they will go that way which is farre from the Sea, they arriue at the Riuer *Niestro* and so enter into *Moldauia*, and from thence traucrseing *Walachia*, they come to *Zuerin* or *Seuerino* (so

of the Ottoman.

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(so called by the christians in memorie of *Seuerus* the Emperour:) but this may be stopped by the *Polackes*, the *Moldauians* and the *Walacchians*. At *Seuerino*, if they had the countrey friendly and fauourable vnto them, yet they may peraduenture haue somewhat to do, before they can passe ouer the Riuer *Danow*: but now forasmuch as that place is at the deuotiō of the *Transylvaniā*, they shal be enforced to passe it, & to make way to theselues by force & arms: which will proue no lesse difficult vnto them, then if they should haue attempted the voyage by land.

The *Tartarians* also may come to the *Niestro*, by *Acherma* the way that is nigh to the Sea: for they may passe to *Achermano*, (which the *Polackes* call *Bialogrod*, the *Moldauians* *Cittat-Alba*, and the *Hungarians* *Nestor Alba*,) a territorie and Sangiacche-ship belonging to the Turkes, at the mouth of the said Riuer *Niestro*, and not at the mouth of *Ister* or *Danubius*, as some haue written: and it is neere to the Sangiacche-ship of *Bendero*, called by the *Polackes* and *Moldauians* *Tegina*, and is a place in the Prouince of *Maldauia*, but subiect to the Turke, through the default of that *Aaron* the *Vainode*, who in this present warre, thinking to reconcile himselfe, for the reuolt which he made from the Turkes, would not surprisē it, when he might.

In the said Sangiacke-shippes, the *Tartarians* may take two wayes, the one by passing the Riuers of *Pruto* and *Sereto*, and so annoying *Walachia*: the other without passing the saide Riuers, and by going ouer the *Danowe* in *Bulgaria*, which is a countrey belonging to the Turke. This last way, though at this

The first part

Which way
the Tartarians
went & came
to and from
this present war

this time it would be the safer, yet for all that it would not be without great difficultie, yea, and so much the rather, for that the Turkes themselves will not willingly yeeld their consents that the *Tartarians* shall take that way, for feare least they should wast their countrey. The first time, that they passed to this present warre, they tooke the way of *Pre-misla*, and in their returne they went home by *Scuerino*: but after that they were discomfited and overthrowne by the *Walachians* and *Transylvanians*, to the end they might more easily saue themselves in their returne homewardest, they tooke the way last before named.

§. XXXI.

The Giebeli
Tartarians,
their weapons
& habitation.

BESIDES the *Tartarians* aboue mentioned, there are also certain other *Tartarians* called *Giebeli*, which may be to the number of about two thousand, they handle the Scimitarre and the Bow: they weare a Salate and a Iacke, whereupon they haue gotten the name of *Giebeli*, that is to say, men of armes. They dwel commonly in *Dobrussia*, between the *Danowe*, and the Ruines of the wall, that was caused to bee made by the Greek Emperours, from *Gorasui*, neere to *Silistria*, as far as *Constane*, vpon the banke of the Greeke Sea. These *Tartarians* do the Turkes verie often vse, because they would make the worlde beleue that the *Tartarians* of *Crimo*, are come to assist and succour them: and so causing these few *Tartarians* to passe ouer on this side of the *Danowe*: (for they dwell in the vttermoost parte of *Moldania*, betweene

Why the
Turkes vse
them.

of the Ottoman.

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twene the *Niesro* and the *Danowe*,) euen vntil they come to the great sea in the Sangiack-ships of *Bendero* and *Achermano* (whereof I tould you somewhat but a little before,) they doe mightily encrease the rumor of them, and breede a great feare in our people. Lastly, I will conclude this discourse touching the *Tartarians*, with a conceite worthie of consideration and memorie, and it this, that as the *Tartars* of *Europe* in the time of the Romanes went euen as farre as *Persia*, by the way of *Demir-Capi*, that is to say, the iron gates, a place verie famous and renowned in regard of *Alexander* the great, passing through the countrey of the *Georgianes*: euen so the verie selfe same way was taken in our daies, particularly by *Osman Bassa*, who therein did greatly labour to imitate, or rather to ouergo *Domitius Corbulo*, and *Pompeius Magnus*, as yee may reade in *Tacitus* and *Dion*.

The voyage
of the Tartar:
ans of Europe
into Persia in
old time.

And of Osman
Bassa of late
time.

§. XXXII.

THE *Circassians*, sometimes called the *Zighi*, are by the *Polackes* named *Pientzcorfchii*, that is to say the Inhabitants of fiue mountaynes, and therefore they are also tearmed *Quinke-Montani*. i. Fiue-Mountayne-men. They doe not reach to the Caspian Sea, as some haue written, but only to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, to the Poole *Mxotis*, and to the great-Sea. Some of them are Freemen: but some of them are tributaries to the afore named *Tartar* of *Crimo*. They liue all after the Superstitions and rites of the *Gracians*. They goe with the

The Circassian

Their manner
of life.

H

Turkes

The first part

Turkes to warre, but they serue them euen for poore poutertie. They vse to sell one another of themselves: and many of them are become Slaues, as well by the way of *Mengrellia*, and by the *Tartarians*, with whome they haue to doe sometimes, as also by the meanes and conueniencie of *Asaf*, which is a Forte belonging to the Turke at the mouth of the riuer *Tanais*. They are well accounted of, for their good disposition and liuely courage. In the time of the Souldanes all the *Mamaluks* almost were *Circassians*, and thereupon came the *Mamaluks* to be called by the Turkes, *Zercas*. In *Circassia* was *Osman* heretofore ouerthrowne by the *Cassacchi*: (what they are, it shall be told yee in due place:) in his returne from *Persia* to *Constantinople*, after he had passed the Riuer *Phas* or *Phasis*, (which is so famous for the Golden Fleece) in *Mengrellia*, which is vpon the great-Sea in the confines of *Trabisonda*, a Riuer which *Pompey* durst not passe ouer, when he pursued *Mithridates*, for feare of the *Tartarians*, the *Circassians*, and other people neere thereabouts.

And let thus much suffice to be spoken of the *Tartarians* and *Circassians*.

The Turke is also wont sometimes to inuite the *Curdians* or *Gurdians* to his warres: who are *Mahometanes*, and liue like Freemen, and are verie courageous. They dwell in the region of *Bagadat*, and in that part thereof, which now is called *Curdistan*, that is to say, *Chaldea*, named by the Arabians *Keldan*. Some are of opinion, that they may one day doe great hurt to the Turkish Empire. Some thinke the

Osman ouer-
thrown by the
Cassacchi in
Circassia.

The Golden
Fleece.

of the Ottoman.

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the same also of the *Drusians*, who are souldiours by profession, and dwell in the Mountayne *Libanus*: as also of the *Arabian Bandoliers*, who are Lordes and Maisters of the Champeine, as sometimes our *Fuorusciti* or outlawes are wont to be among vs. But in trueth I do doubt, that the Maiestie and State of that Empire shall haue small cause to feare either the first, who do inhabite but a small countrey, or the second, who are but some few Mountaine people, or to be brieue the last, who are indeede a confused number of theecues.

Now lastly, it will bee verie conuenient, that I shewe vnto you, the strength and forces of that Empire, that is to say, how the great Turke is able to prouide himselfe and his Armies with victualles, with Armour, and with Munition, as well by land as by Sea. For in vaine were it to haue an Armie, and not to be able to arme and feede both men and cattell, or to make an Armada without timber and people. I will also by the way touch vnto you, how these prouisions of the Turkes, may bee either stopped, or verie hardly be brought vnto him: and by the knowledge thereof it will the more easily appeare, what the enimie can by all likelihoode doe against vs.

§. XXXIII.

And to beginne with victualles, as a thing more necessarie then any other prouision whatsoever, for the maintainance of an Armie, most certaine it is, that the Turke wanteth not corne: For

H 2

he

The Drusians
The Bādoliers
of Arabia.

Vicuall, Ar-
mour, & Mu-
nition of the
Turke.

Corne in Asia.

The first part.

The wayes to conuay it into Hungarie.
 he may haue great store of it out of *Asia*, and to conuay it into *Hungarie*, he hath many diuers and sundry wayes. But that which is by the great Sea at the mouth of the *Danow*, hath no good free passage, in regard of the *Walacchians*, who do now depende vpon the *Transylvanian*. That by *Constantinople* is to long a iourney, and yet there can none be caried that way neither. The most free and easiest way of all the rest for this purpose, is that by Sea to *Salonicchi*, and from thence by the way of *Scopia* to *Belgrado*, where the countrey being verie plaine and euen, the *Turkes* may verie commodiously make their conuoyes, and much better they might do, if they had any carres.

Corne in Europe.

In *Europe*, the *Turke* hath not now any great commodity of victualles. For *Maldania* and *Walachia*, although they be Prouinces, that are by nature verie fruitfull of Barley and Wheate, yet by the occasion of this present warre, they are become almost altogether vnfruitfull, not onely because they are not now sowed as heretofore ordinarily they haue beene, but also because that little which the ground yeeldeth, is purloyned by men, and trampled with horses. Besides that, the *Walachian* and the *Moldanian*, who being as tributaries to the *Turke*, ought to minister vnto him all the helpe that possibly they can, yet at this present they will faile to doe it: the *Walachian*, because hee is vtterly alienated from him, and the *Moldanian*, because hee hath enough to do to furnish himselfe.

The

of the Ottoman.

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The *Turkes* may also conuay some vittailles out of *Macedonia*, and *Serua*, (two Prouinces that are woont to bee verie plentifull of corne :) which they may easily do, because the Country is partly plaine, and partly hilly, but without any stones. They may also take the same way of *Salonicchi*, by passing through the Champaines of *Moraua* in *Serua*, not farre from the most fertile plaines of *Cosson*, which our writers do call the Champaines of Black birds, by reason of the great multitude of them that were seene there before the battaile, wherein *Amurath* the first was slaine. Whereupon I do note by the way, that the ancient writers were in an errour, whiles they thought, that a man coulde not possibly passe through all the Mountaines of *Macedonia* and *Serua*, : considering that they are verie easie to be passed, excepting onely that part of them, which out of *Epirus* entreth into *Macedonia*, for that is in deede vnpassible with carriages.

Corne in Macedonia and Serua: and how to conueigh it into Hungarie.

An errour of the auncients touching Macedonia and Serua.

Now touching the point, how to hinder the *Turkes* vittailles, that they may not be conueighed and brought into those Countreyes, where the wars now are. I doe thinke that it will proue a verie difficult and hard matter for vs Christians to bring it to passe, either by sea or by land. The vittailles of *Asia*, which come out of *Egypt*, and are embarked at *Alexandria*, *Damiata*, and other places, cannot be impeached or stayed, without an Armada, or a flecte of shippes, nor without fighting also with the flecte of the enimie. Besides that the *Arcipelago*, where this must specially and principally bee attempted, hath many channels.

How the Turk may be hindered from his vittailles by sea.

H. 3.

And

The first part.

By land.

And by land, they can be stopped but in one on-ly case (vnlesse the Turke might bee debarred and kept out of his owne Countrey, which is the hardest thing of all.) And this onely way is for the *Transil- nian*, together with the *Walachians*, to passe ouer to the hither side of the *Danowe*, and interpose them- selues betweene *Bulgaria*, and *Serua*, which in times past were called the two *Misiaes*. And yet when all comes to all, there is no remedie but we must looke to fight, and therefore it will behoue vs to haue a ve- rie mightie armie in a readinesse.

What vittails the Spahi, the Sangiacchi, all villages, and Belgrado do furnish.

Moreover, euerie *Spahi*, is bound to bring to the campe, one load of corne for his owne vittails. All the *Sangiacchi* doe send thither, Meale, Barley, and Graine, when and as much as they can. And all the villages also are bound to send a certaine quantitie of Barley, whensoever they are commaunded. And in *Belgrado*, there is ordinarily made great store and prouision of Bisket, Meale and Barley.

§ XXXV.

Why the Turke cannot set forth to warre in the beginning of the year: nor keepe long in one place.

[T is verie true, that the Turke cannot set forth his armie towards the warres before the grasse bee growen, or rather not before haruest-time as well in regarde of the prouisions (as I haue told you) which the *Spahi* & others are bound to bring to the camp, as also because it is necessarie, that both men and cattell should haue good meanes to maintain them selues in the field; yea and so much the rather for that the armie is verie populous, as indeede all the Turkish Armies are for the most part, of people, of horses

of the Ottoman.

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horses, and of Camels: whereupon it falleth out also, that they cannot long bee maintained nor stay together by great heapes and multitudes in one place by reason of their great expences.

Out of *Scopia*, they haue some little store of Rice, whereof the Turkes doe make themselves a pecu- liar kinde of pottage: they haue also some quantitie of it out of *Alexandria*, and other places, whither our Marchants do vse to transport it. Rice from Scopia, Alex- andria, &c.

§ XXXVI.

They haue great abundance of flesh-meates, al- their Countrey ouer (specially where their soul- diers meete together, and goe to warre:) namely of Muttons, and of Beeffes, which are (as a man may say) innumerable in those huge and wide Cham- paines where they feede and pasture: yea and so much the more store of them they haue: because the *Moldauian* is content that the Turkes shal passe through their Countrey, with their cattell, their ho- nie, and their Butter, in regard of the great custome and toll which they gaine of them for the passages thereof. Although (to speake the truth) there doth not now passe that way, so great a multitude of Muttons, as in time past there hath done, because there was not heretofore so good a riddance of them into *Po- lonia*, as now there is. Which in deede is no small grieue and displeasure to the Turkes, who doe vse to eat the flesh of Muttons with great delight and ve- rie sauourly, whereas on the other side they do not so greatly care for the flesh of Beeffes. Great store of flesh meate, mutton and beefe.

The

The first part

The Turkes also vse to carrie with them a certaine kinde of salt poudred flesh, which being beaten into powder, serueth them for a verie great nourishment, especially if they mingle it with their pottage, or broath: and this meate they call *Tzorba*.

§ XXXVII.

Their drinke. **A**ND now to their drinke. It is most certaine, that there want no good waters ouer al the country where the warres are. And for water, it ought not to seeme a straunge drinke: for the Turkes considering that by their law they are bound to drinke it, as the *Carthaginians* also do: and as for Religion sake likewise it is vsed to bee drinke by the inhabitants of the Kingdome of *Tarsus*, which on the East confineth and bordereth vpon *Cataio*, and is famous in the holy Scriptures for the three wise kinges, that came from thence to worship Christ. But what a great aduantage it is to the Turkes, to haue this commoditie of water, let them consider that haue conuersed and practised with the Dutche; (although at other times also, as *Tacitus* writeth, they vsed to drinke at the Well-head.) certaine it is, if we mark the matter well; that *Mahomet* their Law-giuer, did for none other cause so straitely commaund his followers, that they should so precisely abstaine from wine, but onely because that hauing throughly resolved with himselfe to haue his law defended with force & armes, he thought it conuenient by meanes of sobrietie to make them as fit and apt for the wars as possibly he could. And besides that also, he did in-

Water.

The Country of the 3. kings that came to worship Christ

What meanes Mahomet vsed to make his followers to be souldiers.

thrall

of the Ottoman.

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thrall them to the imaginary opinion of the gouernment of *Destinie*, to the end hee might make them the more obedient to their Captaines, and the more resolute in fight. He also ordained, that they should often wash themselves, to the ende, that his Armies might the more easily bee kept cleane and free from those euils and diseases, which do ordinarilie breede of filthinesse, and likewise make them the more able to endure the hardnesse and distemperature of the weather, with other such like policies.

The Turkes also haue a certaine kinde of Breu-
uage or drinke (which they call *Tzerbet*, and wee
Serbetto, a Soupe or Broath:) and it is made of
Raifins and water, sometimes mingled with the
iuiue of Lemmons, and with Muske: most daintie
and delicate it is, to the taste, and will often strike
vp into the heade like Wine. Whereof also if
any of the Turkes are desirous to drinke, especially
the *Giannizzaries*, who will swill of it beyonde all
measure, they may haue some in *Hungarie*, and
chiefly in vpper-*Hungarie*, where the wine of *Toccai*
is verie famous.

A drinke cal-
led Tzerbet.

The Turkes
especially the
Giannizzaries
will drinke
wine.

§ XXXVIII.

LASTly, the Turkes cannot want prouision of
wood and timber, which (as *Cyrus* sayth) is as ne-
cessarie for an armie, as any other thing whatsoever.
True it is, that in some places of *Serua* there is no
great store of it: but there is as much as may be desi-
red, in the rest of the voyage from *Constantinople* to
Belgrade: and in the way of lower *Hungarie*, on this
side

Prouision of
timber.

The first part

Balsa & Srema
plentifull of
wood.

side of the *Danow*, euen vnto *Vesperino*: but specially in *Bazca*, & also in *Srema*, which is a Prouince so called of the Cittie *Sirmio*, so noble and renowned, principally for the Councill that was kept there.

These two Prouinces doe lie on this side of the *Danow*, betweene the *Danow* it selfe, and the riuers of *Draua* and *Saua*, and haue great abundance of wood and timber, by reason that they haue not felt the miseries of the warre, because the Turkish armies haue not taken that way, but onely in the beginning vnder the conduct of *Sinan*.

Armour of
the Turkes.

And now that we haue discovered whatsoeuer is necessarie for the vittaille and foode of their men and cattell: it followeth also to be considered, how the Turkes are at this present armed, and how they may haue munition sufficient for the warre, whether it be Defensue, or Offensue.

§ XXXIX.

Armour of
the Spahi,
Launce,
Pusdogan,
Scimitarre.

THE *Spahi* of Europe, to strike a farre off, doe vse to weare a light Launce with a pommell, and to strike at hand, an Iron Club or Mace, which they call *Pusdogan*: or else a *Scimitarre*, or *Cimitare*: for so by a barbarous worde they call that weapon, which by little and little groweth crooked towards the poynt, and is like for all the worlde to the Knife, that *Xenophon* attributeth as proper to the *Persians*, called by the Turkes *Cedare*, by the Arabians *Seife*, and by the Dutche *Sabell*, a corrupt worde taken from the *Hungarians*, and *Sclauonians*, who call it *Sabla*. Some of them doe also weare an Axe, and a short sword. Some few Iacks,

and

of the Ottoman.

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and Targates they haue: but the rest of all their bodie is vnarmed. None of them doth handle the Pistoll: and many of them doe onelie vse the Dart. The greatest part of those *Spahi*, that kept in the frontiers of *Croattia*, and of *Hungarie*, had Cuirasses, and Corslets, but they are almost all extinguished, & those that are of late gone thither in their roomes are not accustomed to such armour.

Axe.
Short sword,
Iacke.
Targate.
Dart.

All the *Giannizzaries*, and some of the *Asappi*, handle the Arcubuse, but for the most part not so well as it is handled by vs Christians. Which what aduantage it may be vnto vs, let those iudge that saw the handling of the Arcubuse, *Da posta*: that was so profitably vied in the actions of that most glorious Gentleman *Alexander* duke of Parma.

Armour of the
Giannizzaries
and some
Asappi,
Arcubuse.

The *Acanzii*, the *Spahoglani*, the *Chiausii*, (which vse ordinarily to go as Messengers or Embassadors) and other Caulieroës of the great Turkes Court, do handle the Dart, and some of them the Launce, after the *Asian* maner. To be short, all the footemen almost go with a Scimitarre, and without any Murrion, but the most part of them with Daggers after the Greeke fashon. The horsemen of *Asia* doe carrie, as it were, half Pikes. Many of them are Archiers: they ride vpon low Saddles, so that they may easily be ouerthrowen to the ground.

Armour of the
Acanzii, Spa-
hoglani, Chi-
ausii, &c.
Armour of the
footemen.

Horsemen of
Asia.

§ XL.

THEre are also in the Turkish armies diuers Officers or seruants, as the *Giebegi*, that is say, Armourers, that surueigh their Armour. The *Topigi*

Armourers.
Gunners.

I 2

or

The first part.

Armenians, or *Bombardieri*, that looke to their Guns: whereof some haue pay, and some haue none, but diuers fees and recompences they haue. The *Armenians* for the most part doe serue for Pioners, and do such workes among the Turks, as our *Spazzacamini* or Chimney-sweepers doe among vs *Italians*, and thereupon are in scorne called *Bochgi*. There go also with the camp many *Voinicchi*, who are villaines or slaues. They liue after the Greeke maner: they serue for any vse, and dwell in *Serua* and *Bulgaria*. *Voinicchi* is a *Sclauone* worde, signifying Bellicos, warlike men, because in times past they were much imployed in the warres. Many other there be likewise, that voluntarily follow the Armie to be Pioners, and to doe such other base seruices, and are called *Sarchor*.

Militarie discipline of the
Turkes,

And here in this place I will omit at large to entreate of the Militarie discipline of the Turkes, because that point hath bene better examined by others then I can do. Onely I will tell you some speciall matters, because I will not leaue the Reader fasting and unsatisfied in this behalfe, as peradventure in other poyntes I haue already glutted him.

§ XLI.

Qualities require in
Christian
Souldiers.

Without all doubt, the Turkish souldiers are farre inferiour to our souldiers that are exercised. By our Souldiers, I doe vnderstande not onely the *Italians*, but also those of *Spaine*, of *France*, of *Hungary*, of *Germany*, & of other natiōs that vse to go to warfare in our armies. And by exercised soldiers, I mean such as haue not only bin wel instructed in

of the Ottoman.

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in the arte of warrefare, but also such as haue bene accustomed with the exercises of a Christian souldier, to the end that accompanying valour and vertue both together, they may the more surely in the seruice of our Princes become victorious, although they be peradventure farre inferiour in number to our enemies. Most euident and plaine are the examples of the victories obtayned by a few Christians vnder *Marcus Aurelius*, *Constantinus*, *Theodosius* the elder, *Theodosius* the yonger, *Honorius*, *Aetius* and many others: but more particularly ouer the *Saracenes*, vnder *Pelagius* the first, King of *Castile*, who with one thousand slew twentie thousand of them: and vnder *Charles Martell*, who at one onely time ouerthrewe and vanquished three hundred, three-score and fiftene thousand of them: I leaue to tell you what the Christians also did, vnder *Alfonfus* the Chast, *Ranimiro*, *Ferdinando*, and *Waltero* the great Master of the Duch order, who slew a hundred thousand *Tartarians* with the death of one onely of his owne souldiers: and *Coruinus*, who after hee had obtayned seauen victories against the Turkes, with fiftene thousand onely, most valourously fought the eight battail against eightie thousand of them, as (among others) *Thomas Bozius* writing against *Macchiauel* hath at large described.

Victories of
the Christians
against the
Infidels.

Victories of
the Christians
against the
Turkes.

Moreouer, euerie man that hath warred with the Turkes doth know well enough, that they lodge at large: and that in their marching they go verie confusedly, so that they may verie easily be endamaged in the tayle of their Armie. *George Castriota*, was one of the most famous Captaines, that euer fought

I 3

with

The first part

Scander-Beg. with the Turkes, and was otherwise called *Iskander-Beg*, i. the Lord *Alexander*, a name that was giuen him by *Sultan Amurath*, when being his Hostage or Pledge he caused him to bee circumcised at seauen years of age: (for the Turkes at circumcision change the name, as we vse to doe at baptisme.) This man fighting thus with the Turks being in this disarray, had such victories of them as were most worthie of triumph.

Besides all this the Turkes, when they do fight, put more confidence in their Multitude, in the opinion that they haue of *Destinie*, in the noyse of their warrelike instruments, and in the horrible cry of their barbarous shoutings, then they haue in any good order, or in true discipline. And yet many good things they haue, as namely, a Supreme authoritie in their Captaine Generall, an obedience in the souldiers, though now it be somewhat diminished: forces alwayes readie, so that they shall not neede to go about, begging of souldiers, as our Princes doe, who verie oftentimes make more account and better reconing of other mens forces, then they do of their own, and to make a leaue of souldiers, are enforced to euacuate and emptie their treasures and to consume the greatest part of their time vnprofitably. The Turkes spend their treasure either in matters of greatest importaunce, or in bestowing liberally vpon their souldiers: which is a most sharpe spur to animate and encourage them to battail. They neuer attempt any enterprise at a iumpe or vpon a soden. They do not employ their forces in matters of small moment. They vnder-
take

Good gouern-
ment among
the Turkes.

A fault in
Christian Prin-
ces.

Good quali-
ties in the
Turkes.

of the Ottoman.

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take no action, but with order and great militarie preparation: and for the most part they fight not out of season.

And although some be of an opinion, that the Turkes want Engyners, yet it is daily scene, that with Engyners, great facilitie and ease they ouerthrowe the greatest fortes and fortresses of the worlde, whereof they make no account at all: for sometimes they will corrupt the enimies officers, with honours, with gifts, and with prouinces, and sometimes they will make breaches into the walles with continuall batteries, working with the mattocke, filling vp the trenches, and other whiles also ouerwhelming Citties, either with huge artificiall mountaynes of earth, or with vndermining: and lastly, disquieting the inhabitants with perpetuall and importunate assaults and neuer giuing ouer the enterprise till it be performed.

Moreouer, they do not want any munition, of Bullet, Artillarie, Powder. For Bullet, they alwaies make it when they haue neede of it. For Artillarie, they haue great quantitie of it, at *Constantinople*, at *Pera*, at *Belgrado*, and at *Buda*: the most part of it taken from the Christians. They haue also learned to cast Artillarie: the more shame for vs, who haue not bene contented to transport our arrant cruell enimies out of *Asia* into *Europe* in *Amurathes* time, but haue also become Maisters vnto them in this Arte: and I would to God, that we did not likewise carrie them great store of Armour and weapons besides: nothing regarding or fearing the wrath of God, the excommunication of the Popes, nor the vtter ruine of our selues. And as for Powder, it is
made

Bullet
Artillarie.

Powder,

The first part

made at *Cairo*, and at *Acque Bianche*. i. the white-waters, (which is a place not farre distant from *Constantinople*;) and elsewhere in great abundance.

Stratagems.

The Turkes do also greatly practise militarie stratagems, or wilie pollicies in warre, whereby they do vse to mingle deceite with force, according to the commandement of *Mahomet* their law-giuer: neither do they want meanes and ministers, that are cunning and skilfull to practise the same, both because all such, as among them do attend the Arte of warrefare, do endeouour themselues to learne and knowe whatsoeuer is necessarre for the good managing of an exployte, and also because fraud and deceite is a thing most proper to the Turke. Much other matter might be set downe touching this poynt: but if any bee desirous to vnderstand more hereof, let him read, (among others that haue writen of the Turkish affaires,) the discourses of *Renato Di Lusinge*, Lord *Alimes*, in his booke intituled, Of the beginning, conseruation, & decaying of States.

And now that I haue shewed you the Land-Forces of the Ottoman Empire, it is also verie fit and conuenient, that I should likewise shewe you, the forces thereof by Sea.

§. XLII.

Storehouses
for shipping in
Asia.

THE great Turke hath many *Tersani*, that is to say Arsenales or Storehouses for shipping. The Arsenal or Storehouse of *Sinopoli* neere to *Trabisonda* is one of the best. At *Constantinople* there are a hundred & thirtie seauen roomes in one vault, and

of the Ottoman.

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and at *Midia* and *Actilo* they haue space enough to make some if they will. Besides that, the Turkes do vse also to make Galeyes in such places, where they may most commodiously haue timber for them: the charge and care whereof they lay most commonly vpon the *Raislari* or *Raisi*, that is to say, the Captains of the said Galeyes. Moreouer they haue great abundance of timber in many places, & specially in the golfe of *Nicomedia* in *Asia*, ouer against *Constantinople*: and in the mountaines of the *Ducagini*, from whence they may conuay it by the Riuer *Drino* vnto *Alessio* a territorie of *Albania*: in which prouince also they haue some quantitie at *Velona*, and at *Polona*, which is verie famous by *Augustus*, who was there studying, when *Cesar* was killed.

Europe.

The great Turke hath also an Arsenal or storehouse in *Africa* at *Suez*, in the mouth of the Red Sea, with certaine Galeyes, which were made heretofore against the *Portingales*, for the enterprise of *Diu* & *Ormuz*: but it is of small reconding because in that countrey there is no store of timber, and to bring it from the portes of *Bithynia* and *Caramania* to *Cairo* by the riuer *Nilus*, and so to *Suez* vpon Camels is a matter of great difficultie and expence.

Africa.

§. XLIII.

IT is most certaine and true that the Turkes do put their timber to worke, so ill seasoned, so greene, & so fallen without any obseruatiō of the course of the Moone, that their Galleyes cannot proue very good & durable: and the rather, because they vse to make

Timber and
Gallicies.
Their Gallicies
not very good.

K

them

The first part

them for the most part in great hast: besides that the houels or vaults, that are made to couer them, are not so well fitted, nor safe from the raine.

They haue Pitch, both hard and soft from *Velona*, and from *Rissano* in the golfe of *Cathare*: the one out of the mines, the other from the trees. And tallowe they want not, by reason of the great aboundance of Beefes and Muttons, that are in those countres. But they haue not hempe enough, and so by consequence they are not well prouided of Sayles: and so much the worse, because the Sultane Ladies (who haue thirtie Galeons of a thousand & fise hundred tunne a peece, and eightene great Hulkes, which they send into Alexandria with diuers marchandise,) do draw out of the Arsenal, with the good liking and pleasure of the Grand-Turke, sayl & chordage, asmuch as is requisite for the seruice of their said vessels. Besides that the officers, who haue the charge of the said Sayls, & such other like furniture for ships, do keepe them but ill fauouredly and lend them out easily for gaine.

The Turks do also want nayls, so that very often in steed thereof, they are faine to vse sharp woodde pins.

Of Mariners they haue great store. They enterayne the *Asappi* principally to serue them in Sea actions. And if they should happen to want any, they would compell the *Candians* to serue in their Galeyes (for there is alwaies a great multitude of the in *Constantinople*) & other *Gracians* that are their subiects, which do wholly attend that trade. To this purpose also they keepe many boies exercised that way, in their watch-Gallyes, in their shippes, and other boats

Pitch hard
and soft.
Tallow.
Hempe not
much.
Sayles why
scant,

The Sultane
Ladies Ga-
leons.

Nayles scant.

Mariners

Gallyflaues.

of the Ottoman.

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Boats. But gally-flaues they want which is a matter of great consideration: for vnprofitable are their Gallies, without people to row them. And neither will the Christian flauers be enough for that seruice, nor yet those that are supplied out of *Barbarie*. Besides that the *Turkes* do not make any flauers of the *Tartarians*, of the *Persians*, nor of the *Georgians*, because they will not admit the into their militarie gouernment, which wholly resteth in the handes of their flauers, as it hath bin somewhat touched heretofore, and more at large shall be hereafter in the third part of this treatise. Sometimes they will also command the *Asappi* to go and serue for Gally flauers, as a base kind of people and of no worth: and sometimes others of the countrey: for whose stipend and wages there was applied in times past, an *Auariz*, that is to say, an exaction layd vpon the christians of *Europe*, which amounted to the summe of three hundred thousand *Cecchinoes* or *Duckats*: but now it is employed vpon other land-matters. In their great necessities they vse also some of the *Armenians*, some of the *Iewes*, and some of the Christians, euen by force & compulsion, as namely *Cicala* did in the last yeare of his generallship. The *Spahi* likewise go for soul di- diers in the Gallies, that are kept for the defence & safegard of the Islandes of *Barbarie*, and other places, but without any other pay, sauing only the profite of their *Timari*: and thereupon they growe wonderfull greedie to robbe and spoyle. If they make a flecte of a greater number of Gallies then ordinary, (which may be about some thirtie,) they will send some *Giannizzaries* into them.

An Auariz, or
exaction rai-
sed vpon the
Christians for
the mainte-
nance of Gal-
ley-flaues.

K 2

They

The first part

Bisket,

They make great aboundance of Bisket, at *Velona* at *Lepanto*, at *Negroponte*, at *Volo* in the gulse of *Salomicchi*, whether the wheate is brought and conuayed, that is gathered out of *Macedonia* and *Serua* in *Zataracs* or *Lighters* by the Riuer *Vardaro*, which in old time was called *Auxius*.

The riches of
the Ottoman
Empire.

And thus much let be sufficient to haue spoken of the Turkes forces by land and by Sea. But for as much as according to the opinion of some auncient Captaines, Gold is the Sinewes of warre, and (as it were) the Spirite and Soule, that quickeneth and giueth life to an Armie: I will briefly adioyne hereunto some matter touching the Ottoman riches: Wherein a great parte of the Forces of that Empire and of other principalities doth consist.

§. XLIIII.

His Timari,

First, if wee doe consider the value and account of the *Timari*, it is manifest and playne that the Great Turke, is the richest Prince, that is vpon the earth: because hauing bounden vnto him by his *Timari*, moe then three hundred persons, to serue him in his warres, without any interest, hinderance or charge of his owne, it may easily bee perceyued, what a great matter it would bee for him to maintayne so many Souldiours, with his owne pay.

The Turkes
Hafnads or
Treasurie.

Moreouer, the great Turke hath two *Hafnads*, (or as many do pronounce it with a stronger aspiratiō, *Gafnads*) that is to say treasuries whereof the one is called

of the Ottoman.

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called the outward or cōmon treasury, the other the inward or priuate Treasurie. The former hath about some nine or ten millions of yearly reuenue, which is wholly imployed in the expences that are needfull and necessarie for the state. The later is exceedingly rich, by reason of the many and great giftes or presents, which are giuen to the grand-Turke by sundrie Princes, and (pecially by the Christians, by his owne seruitors and subiects, and by all such as haue any thing to deale with him, not permitting any person to come before his presence with empty handes, for hee doth attribute that, which indeede turneth to his chiefeest gaine, rather to be a signe of his great pompe and Maiestie. And truly if yee shall well consider the nature of the whole generation of the Turkes, ye shall find all of them to attend none other thing, but onely to gather that they may giue it afterwarde to the great Turke: so that by this meanes, all the riches of that large Empire doe passe through their handes, as it were through water-pipes, into the huge Ocean of their Emperours couetousnesse.

The common
or publike
Treasurie.
The priuate
Treasurie.
Giftes.

Into the same priuate *Hafnad*, or Treasurie, there runneth also the yeately reuenue of *Misr* (for so the *Arabians* and *Turkes* doe call the ancient *Memphis*, that is to say, *Cairo*, by a corruption from the Hebrew worde *Misraim*) which reuenue amounteth to the summe of aboue one Million. There runneth thither also, the yeately value of all the inheritances of the richest persons in all his Empire, whose heire he maketh himselfe to bee, euen at his owne pleasure. For all the wealth of those, which

Reuenue of
Cairo.

Inheritances.

The first part

Confiscations,
fines, &c.

Mynes.

Tribute of the
Christians.

Tribute of the
Turks them-
selues.

Treasure left.

beare the title of slaues, doth wholly depende vpon his supreme will and disposition. Thither come likewise, all confiscations and forfeitures, all fines and amercements (which are verie many) all the goods of such as are condemned by law, all the Reuenue that is gathered of Custome and Impost: all the rent of the Salt-pits, and the Tithe and tents of all prayes that are taken by land or by sea, of all cattell, and of all Haruests in the fields: the profite also of the Mines, whereof there are verie many in *Seruaia*, (in so much as it is called, *Prouincia d' Argento*, i. the Prouince of Siluer) in *Bosna* about *Iaiza*, in *Madonia*, and elsewhere. All which ioynly together, amounteth to a most huge quantitie of golde more or lesse, according to the greedie auarice of the Prince, and to the diligence, or rather infaciableness and extortion of his officers.

Besides all this, the Turke doth also leuie a tribute vpon the Christians, which is a *Sultane* vpon euerie Head, or Poll of them, as soone as they are aboute xiiii. yeares olde: which tribute is now encreased to a higher rate, by occasion of this present warre. There is likewise a certaine redemption of that, which is payed by the Turkes according to the rate of fise and twentie *Aspres a peece*, and is called a Gift, because it is expressely forbidden by their law that the Turkes shoulde take any tribute of the Turkes.

Lastly, the now liuing great Turke, did finde in this priuate *Hasnad* or treasure, great store of gold, but not in that excessiue quantitie, as some haue bin bolde to write, which was gathered together by his father,

of the Ottoman.

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father, who was very auaricious and greedie beyond all measure, and as insatiable and carefull to hoorde vp, as he was miserable and sparing in spending and giuing. He was of the minde that he would sell euen the flowers of his owne Gardeines: hee payed no debts: he gaue nothing, or at least verie little to his souldiers: a thing that was farre different from the custome of that Empire. To bee short, he was most respectiue and heedie in all his expences as well ordinarie as extraordinary, those only excepted which he laide out vpon his women, who (although they were his slaues) yet was it his pleasure, that when they departed from his entertainment, and embracement, they should bee greatly enriched, and well furnished with Iewels.

To all these things before rehearsed, there may be added a matter, which without teares cannot bee remembred, and that is, the tributes (or rather to vse a more modest name for it, the *Beneuolences and Gracities*) which the Christian Princes do vsually giue to the great Turke. The memorie whereof ought to enkindle, yea and enflame them with a most iust disdaine and indignation against so barbarous and vniust a tyrant, and to cause them, that (as indeede they doe in their consciences acknowledge it to be more profitable for Christendome, and honourable for themselues:) so they would all ioyn together with one consent to spend the same money for the glorie of Christ, and for there owne safetic.

§ XLV.

THE Christian Emperour payed vnto the Turke for *Hungarie*, and to haue peace with him (if I do well

The couetous-
nesse of Amu-
rath the third.

Yearly Tri-
butes of Chris-
tian princes
to the great
Turke.

The Emperour

The first part

well remember my selfe) fortie and five thousande Dallers.

The Vainode of Moldauia.

The *Vainode* of *Moldauia* paieth one and thirtie loades of *Aspres*, or little lesse. A hundred thousand *Aspres* make a load, which at the time of the imposition make two thousand Crownes, euerie Crowne being worth fiftie *Aspres*, which is now worth more then a hundred. And besides, he payeth also to the *Tartarian* twentie Cart-loades of honie, with foure Oxen in euerie Cart, and fiftie Mares besides. but it may be that by some new composition he payeth now somewhat more or lesse.

The Vainode of Walachia.

The *Vainode* of *Walachia*, before it was at the deuotion of the *Transiluanian* Prince, paid fiftie loads. Such is the information that I haue had from such as haue seene the bookes of *Moldania*, and *Walachia*: and therefore I do differ somewhat from those, that haue written otherwise hereof.

The prince of Transiluania.

The Prince of *Transiluania*, payed to the Turke before this present warre 15000. *Cecchinoes* or *Duc-kets*.

The state of Ragusi.
The state of Venice.

The state of *Ragusia* payeth. 12500. *Cecchinoes*.

The state of *Venice*, for the Island of *Zante* (i. *Zacinthus*) 1000. *Cecchinoes*: as *Selem* also chalengeth a certaine summe of money, before it was bereaued of the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, because the *Ottoman* Empire was somewhat entered into the Soldanes accounts and reckonings.

The Moscouite.

The *Moscouite* also gratifieth the *Tartarian* for *Taurica*, to auoyde the incursions, which the *Tartarians* are wont to make into his Countrey, either of themselues, or at the instance of the *Turke*.

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The *Polack* payed to the *Turke* in the yeare 1591. so many furs of *Sables*, as were worth 25000. crownes of gold: but it is not a yearely tribute, as some haue written. Indeed hee giueth to the *Tartarian* euerie yeare a certaine summe of mony, to buy *Scimitarres*, and apparell withall, by an auncient capitulation or composition, as it is read in the Histories of *Polonia*.

I haue noted also the giftes which some Princes do bestow vpon the *Tartarian*, which although they began at the first indeed, before the *Turke* had any thing to doe with the *Tartarian*, are yet still continued by the said Princes, principally to please the *Turke*.

There be also certaine tributes and giftes, which the Princes of *Africa*, and of *Arabia*, and the *Georgiani*, and others do vse to giue, but I wil omit them, because they are not of any moment, nor serue any thing to this present purpose.

The Princes of Africa, Arabia, and Georgia.

Finally, there be also many Rewardes and Gratuities, which the foresayd Princes do bestow extraordinarily vpon the officers of that barbarous Prince to keepe them to bee their friends: and which vpon diuerse and sundry occasions they bestow also vpon him selfe, either to holde him in friendship, or to pacifie his rage and furie (which is sometimes eager in deed, and sometimes but counterfaite) or else they giue it for a certaine Ceremonie: because (as I haue signified before) he doth account this kinde of profite to be verie honourable vnto him. Besides that all such as desire Offices and Dignities, or returne from the gouernments of Prouinces, or from some notable enterprice, do bestow vpon him (as it were by

Gratuities extraordinary to the Turke and his Officers.

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bond

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bond and dutie) the godliest and most precious things which they haue gotten : Neither is there any other cause why his pleasure is that all the presentes, which are offered vnto him, should thus openly and in publike view be presented to his owne presence, but onely with this barbarous pride and ostentation to enflame and prouoke both his owne subiects & strangers to bestow the more vpon him.

The end of the first Booke.



The second part.

Wherein is treated of the purposes and Designments which the Ottoman Princes haue towards other princes : Of the cause of this present warre in Hungarie, the beginning and proceeding thereof : wherein for your better vnderstanding, the originall of the said warre shall be fetched, euen from Amurath, the father of this now liuing Mahomet.

Now that we haue seene the nature and conditions of *Mahomet*, the heade and chiefe of this *Ottoman* Empire, and what are the members, strength, and forces of this most monstrous bodie, as

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I may call it : fit and conuenient it is : that for the full and perfect knowledge thereof, we should goe about to search the purposes and designements, which the said *Mahomet* hath against other Princes, and specially against the Princes Christian: to the end we may the better vnderstand the true causes of this present warre, together with the beginning and proceedings thereof. But forasmuch as this warre began, euen in the time of *Amurath*, father to the now liuing Emperour, it will be necessarie for our better intelligence to speake somewhat of him, and to fetch the true originall of the said war euen from thence: wherewithall there shall be also discovered vnto you more plainly, all the greatest interests and dealings which hee hath with the rest of the Princes in the world.

§ I.

AND to begin the same accordingly *Amurath*, the Lord and Emperour of the Turkes father to the now liuing *Mahomet*, was a prince (of a *Mahometane*) verie tollerable and discrete. He was a zealous obseruer of that most vaine superstition of the *Mushaphum*, (for so the Turkes call the Booke of their law, as the *Arabians* tearme it the *Al-koran*: that is to say most wickedly, as it were by excellence, *ἡ ὑπερβολή*, the Scripture, as though there were none other Scripture like it: euen as the Iewes and Hebrewes call the holy Scriptures, *Kara*.) He took great delight also in reading the Hystories of his predecessours, as *Selim* the first did the Hystories

The nature and conditions of *Amurath* the third.

The name of the Turkes Law-booke.

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Why Amurath was called Bongi.

of *Alexander* the great, and of *Iulius Caesar*: and because he was so studious in Philosophie, he was called by the Turkes in mockage, *Bongi*, as *Baiazet* the second was also called in the same respect. Hee was no drinker of wine, as his father *Selem* was. In the pleasures of sensualitie, which are so familiar and tolerable among the Turkes, he was rather continent, the otherwise, especially in that most abominable sin of lecherie, and chiefly for many yeares before the end of his life. Moreover, if a man that is a niggard & avaricious, may be called a louer of iustice, he was a great louer of that iustice which is known among the barbarians: very careful & desirous he was likewise to vnderstand all the affairs of other princes, but aboue all other things, most exact & perfit in the knowlege of his owne estate: inso much as he had a perticular memoriall of all his businesse, of all his reuenues ordinarie and extraordinarie, and of all his expences, which he kept in a booke appointed by him for that purpose, and layd continually vpon a little table in his owne priue Chamber, and came (as it were) by inheritance to the now great Turke, euen as that of *Augustus* came to *Tiberius* the Emperour. And it may be peraduenture, that by reason of these his too diligent occupations and businesse, or rather indeed by his naturall inclination, he was for the most part verie full of melancholie: which besides that it made him somewhat still and sparing of speech, and oftentimes irkesome and tedious to himselfe; it also procured him to be exceedingly suspicious of any matter: so that to lighten and quicken himselfe, hee did vse sometimes to take *Opium*: for the Turkes do hold

Way he did sometimes take Opium.

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hold opinion, that the said Simple or Drugge doth breed a good colour, and reioyce the heart, as also that he who hath once eaten of it, cannot any more abstaine from it. He entertained likewise in his *Serraglios* many Dwarfes and many dumbe persons, whom hee would cause to fight together one with another, to the end hee might take some pleasure in the sight of so vaine a pastime. Hee made warre rather for religion and exercise of his people, then for that he was giuen to warre by Nature: and that also he folowed not by himselfe, but alwayes by his Officers. For he would still glorie to himselfe, that hee had enlarged the confines of his Empire, euen as farre as the *Caspian* sea, only by his owne wit and aduise, and by the execution and exployte of his saide Captaines: a matter which his predecessors could neuer performe or bring to passe in their owne persons. He warred for the space of fiftene or sixteene yeares with *Mahomet Codabenda* king of *Persia*, sonne to *Sha Tamas*, who was the sonne of *Ismael*: and with *Abas*, that liueth at this day, whom some doe falsly call the *Miriza*: for *Miriza* is the proper title of the eldest sonne to the king of *Persia*, called *Sophi*, but is not in deed the title of the king himselfe. He was wont to say that he had fully resolued with himselfe neuer to conclude peace with him, vntill he had take *Casbin*, which now is the seate royall of the *Persian* kinges: & that for two causes. One was to recouer the ashes of that *Baiazet*, who was sonne to *Sultan Soliman*, and fled to *Tamas* to auoid the indignation of his father, but was put to death by the same *Tamas*, to the end he might by that meanes be reconciled to *Soliman*.

What Mirza is.

The true causes why hee warred with the Persians.

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The other cause was to ruinate and vtterly destroy the Sepulchre of *Arduelle*, father to *Ismael*, the Author of the *Persian* sect or religion: who was called *Sophi*, either of the Greeke worde σοφίς (that is to say *wise*) asthough he had beene discended from the auncient *Magi*, or *Wise-men* of *Persia*: or because he was accounted and esteemed to be a *Wise-man*, (as also for the same reason *Sempronius* was so called) or else of the *Arabian* worde *Sophi*, which signifieth woull, because all the *Persians* doe weare a *Tulpante* on their heades, not of verie fine linnen cloath as the *Turkes* doe, but (to make shew of greater religion) made of Woll, dyed into a red colour, whereupon they are by the *Turkes* tearmed in mockage, *Keselbassi*, that is to say, *Red-heades*, or *Red-Cappes*: that thereby they might make a difference from the *Tartarians* of *Zegatai*, in times past called the *Bactriani*, and dwelling beyond the *Caspian* sea, who because they professe themselves to be of the right and true discent of *Mahomet*, doe vse to weare it of a greene colour, and thereupon are called *Ieschilbassi*, i. *Greene Cappes*.

Now by the way: A *Tulpante*, and a *Tocca* is all one, and signifieth that *Globe* or *Sphere*, full of *Circles*, great and small, which are in the many turnings and wreathings of those *Linne* Rolles, which the *Grecians* of this time do call *οὐαὶολιον*, and serueth them both for a *Cap*, and a *Hood*. And indeed properly it should be called a *Turbante*, of the round shape thereof, tearmed by the *Greekes* *κῆρυς* growing sharpe in the top, like unto a *Sugerloafe*, or a *Cypres tree*, as the *Turkes* were wont to weare it at the first: but now they weare it more round. And thereupon it may be peraduenture

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ture called in the holy Scriptures *Pomum* (that is to say, an *Apple*) namely in the 79. *Psalme*, where *King Dauid* bewayling the taking of the Citie *Ierusalem*, sayth, The Temple of the Lord was giuen into the custodie of Apples, according to the vulgar and common translation, which place certaine Writers not without some reason haue interpreted to be ment of the *Turkes*. And so likewise it may be, that not of *Constantinople*, but of the *Persian Kingdome*, the *Red-Apple* is to be understood, which the *Ottoman Emperour* shall bring into his subiection, before he be vtterly subdued by the sword of the *Christians*, as is to be red in the *Turkish Oracle* or *Prophecie* (if so it may be called) and is now a long time knowne to euery man, and is by diuerse men diuersly interpreted Others there are, that would expound the *Turbante* to be a *Symbole* or token of *Fortitude*: whereby those that do weare the same should be admonished, that when they go to the warres they should not thinke to returne, but therein gloriously to die, whiles they may remember that they carry with them the *Syndon* or winding sheete, wherein they vse to wrap their dead car-kasses. The *Giannizzaries* do not weare the *Turbante*, but a *Zercola*, which is of white Felt, and is iumpe of the same fashion and shape, as may be seene in diuerse pictures, to make a difference from the rest of the *Turks*, that weare it of a red colour.

An exposition of a Turkish prophecie.

The Iannizzaries Zercola.

§. II.

AND now to returne againe. At the last *Amurath* was pacified with the *Persian*: but weary he was and so were his people also, of so long a warre, and therefore he might be well contented with this pacification

Why Amurath was content to be at peace with the Persians.

Why Ismael called Sophi.

The Persians called Keselbassi.

The Tarrarians of Zegatai called Ieschilbassi.

What a Turbante is: and what it may signifie.

The second part

cification, considering especially that hee had conquered so much Countrey, and atchieued so great glorie withall. Moreouer he thought also, that by this meanes hee might the more soundly establish his state, and better secure the new Inhabitants, which he had planted in his new conquered countreyes, by distributing among them all the *Timari*, that were to be raysted thereof, and by building diuerse fontes therein, which should be cited and seated in such maner as one of them might easily helpe and succour the other.

§. II I.

WHiles *Amurath* thus enioyed this peace, from which as being a man giuen to studie and Melancholie, he did not of himselfe greatly abhorre, he was counselled and aduised by his *Visiers* to renue the warre.

Now these *Visiers* are the chiefe counsellors of warre, and of estate: and the councell or assembly of these men, is called by the *Turkes* *Diuano*, as hath beene before declared, and not *Capi*, that is to say, the *Porta*, which properly is the Court; wherein is also in diuerse other thinges the *Turkes* do imitate and follow the *Persians*, who (as ye may read in *Xenophon*) did call the Court by that name.

The reasons wherby they moued & aduised him to renue the warre, were these. Namely, that great Empires & states canot be maintained without the helpe of force and armes: that as long as the common wealth of *Rome* kept warres with the *Carthaginians*,

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nians, and the Emperours of *Rome* in *Germanie*, that Empire lasted and continued. That so likewise had the *Ottoman* Emperours done in times past, who doe not holde the end of warre to bee peace, as the Princes of *Christendome*, and other weake princes doe, but they take the onely ende of warre to bee warre, whereby the *Turkes* haue not onely amplified and enlarged their Empire to that huge greatness, wherein now it is, but haue also kept their subjects occupied and busied: and so haue diuerred them from ciuill seditions and insurrections, which for the most part are bred & nourished by ease and idlenesse. To be short, that the subjects, whiles they continue in peace, some grow to be cowards, some apply themselues too greedily to trades and traffike, and some to spoyling and robbrie, insomuch that thereby there will be vterly lost the knowledge of the *Sea-warres*, which hath now a long time beene almost abandoned, and of the land-warre also, if for any long space they should cease to make warres. And consequently they should want Captaines, and valiant or hardie Souldiers, because the onely vse of war doth inure men to become good warriors, and maketh them exceedingly couragious. And certaine it is, that matters which are atchieued and gotten, are preserved by the same meanes whereby they be gotten.

Besides these *Visiers* and *Bassas*, that laboured to perswade him hereunto, in regard of their owne interest and benefite, especially the two concurrents and opposites *Sinan* and *Ferat*, who without warres were held in no great credite, or account, nor could

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Who the *Visiers* be.

What the *Porta* is.

The reasons of the *Visiers* to moue *Amurath* to make warre.

The second part

enrich themselves according to the greedie desires of the Barbarians : their were also the Agentes of Fraunce, of England, and of the Prince of *Geilan*, which endeououred to perswade the same, by such reasons, as shall be tolde you in due place.

§ IIII.

The reasons why Amurath would not resolue vpon warre.

BVt *Amurath* would not resolue vpon any thing: not because he was not perswaded to make war, but because hee was not thoroughly certified, what aduantage would grow vnto him by mouing war, rather against one prince then against another : & so much the rather, for that the *Vissiers* did differ in their seuerall counsailes and aduises among themselves. And for as much as their sundrie opinions did comprehend the chiefeest and most principall interests of the world and specially of Christendom : I thought with my selfe, that it would be a matter not displeasing to such as willingly shal read this discourse, to relate them all in particular, and with such good order and facilitie, as the reports themselves, and the pronounciation of that barbarous tongue will suffer me. And so by that meane I shall giue you a more full and certaine knowledge of the *Ottoman* affaires, and therewithall note also vnto our Princes the purposes and designements of that tyrant, not onely to the ende that they might in time looke about them, and bethinke themselves of fit remedies for the same, but also the sooner resolue, valiantly to band themselves together in one, for the vanquishing and ouerthrow of him.

A note for Christian Princes.

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§ V.

THeir opinions were eight in number. The first: that in any case the warre should be renewed against the Persian. The second : that they should rather bend their forces against the king of *Fez*, and *Morocco*. The third : against the Isle of *Malta*. The fourth: against the king of Spaine. The fift: against the state of Venice. The sixt : against Italie. The seuenth : against Polonia. And lastly, the eight against the Emperours.

The 8. seuerall opinions of the Vissiers.

§ VI.

THe reasons of their seuerall opinions were these. And first, touching the renewing of the warre against *Persia* (a kingdom which the Turks comprise vnder the name of *Azemia*;) they argued, that when soeuer the king should see the great Turk entangled in other enterprises, he would surely break the peace, as well for the recouerie of his Country, which was lost with smal honour & credite, as also to be reuenged at one time or other, of all the olde griefes and iniuries that he had receyued of the *Ottoman* Emperours. That hee should be prouoked thereunto and assisted therin by the Christian Princes, and specially by the king of Spaine, who could verie well doe it by the way of the Indies, and by sending vnto him (as at sundry other times he had done) engineers, Gunners, and such other helpes. That the Country was not yet well settled, the fortresses were new, and

The first opinion, to moue warre against Persia and the reasons thereof

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the Inhabitants (lately planted) in great danger, and somewhat too farre off, to be relieued in time. That if the Persians would do nothing else, but ransacke and forrage the Champaine, the said Inhabitantes should be compelled and inforced to yeeld and giue place, vnlesse they would perish for hunger. That not to atchieue or obtaine, but to prosecute and follow a victorie, is the true glorie. That the Turke should take good heede, not to offend the great prophet *Mahomet*, nor to moue him to indignation or wrath, considering that he had obtained greater victories agaynst the enemies of his Religion, then euer his predecessors had obtained in former times: and therefore it was fit and conuenient, and it was also the dutie of a religious and thankfull prince, not to omit the iniuries that were done both to God and man. There was added to this, that *Vsbegh-Han* had voluntarily offered to serue him in this warre, and so had the prince of *Geilan* also.

Who *Vsbegh-Han* is.

What Tartarians are called *Ketzie-Balsi* and why?

Where *Geilan* is.

This Vsbegh-Han, is the Prince of those Tartarians, that dwell at the furthest ende of Persia, in that part which the Turkes do call at this day Bahera, in olde time Baetra, and are called Ketzie-Balsi, because they weare Caps covered with felt. It is not long ago since the said Vsbegh died, and left behind him a sonne, who may now be about some twelue yeares of age. Geilan, is also a Countrey more toward the East of the Caspian sea.

Moreover, that he need not to make any doubt of victorie, considering the good successe that he hath had heretofore. That hee had no cause to feare their Harquebuses: for they had but few, and the Turkes can better handle them then the Persians: nor yet their

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their horses, although they were of the Arabian and Caramanian race, the relikes of *Amurath* the second, for they had many times and often bin put to flight for verie cowardise. And lastly, that hee could not doubt, least the *Gurgini* (so doe the Turkes call the *Georgiani*, in times past the *Iberi*) should make any stirre in aide and fauour of the Persians. For part of them are his owne Subiects, and vnder the iurisdiction of the Bassaes of *Teflis*, and of other places thereabouts, after they were made *Bassalucches* by *Mustapha*: part also of them are his tributaries: and it is well knowne, that the rest are contented to liue vnder their Lordes, *Simon* and *Alessandro*, without attempting to seek better fortunes, but to defend their owne Countrey. Which although it be but small, and not verie hard to be kept and defended, yet is it verie strong by situation, and almost vnpassible, for the Mountaines, for the Woods, and for the strait places that compasse it about.

The Georgians.

§ VII.

Touching the second opinion, which was for the bending of their forces against the *Sirisso* in Africa, it was thus debated. That it was a great dishonour to the Ottoman Empire, that they had not as yet ouerthrowne and subdued those Moores. That it was as great a shame, that they had so small a portion in Africa, considering that it was the third part of the world, and being so neare vnto Italie, did so greatly vex and trouble the Romanes. That *Algier* and *Tunise* would neuer be secure, nor the Subiects

The 2. opinion to make war vpon the king of Fez and Morocco, and the reasons thereof.

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and Sea-rouers thereof satisfied, vntill they had gotten the full rule and dominion of that kingdom. That if they wholly reduce into their power and possession the Cape of *Aguero*, and the Hauen of *Araza* or *Laract* (which indeede is situate without the straite, and not within it as some haue written) places verie fit and conuenient for the English, that get many booties in those seas, as also for diuerse others both friends and enemies to the Moores, the Turkish nauigation should be thereby the more secured. That this king of the Moores, although he be a Mahometane, and a Tributarie to the *Ottoman* Empire, yet verie lately he had held secrete intelligence with the King of Spaine, and also with the knights of *Malta*, who by means thereof were liketo to haue taken *Tripoli*; and that hee had likewise maintained and asisted the insurrection of *Marabut*, and of his successour. That though he were mightie for men, yet he was poore in mony. And lastly that although the Spaniards do holde in Africa, *Maraschebir*, *Oran*, the *Pegnon*, *Tanger*, *Arzilla*, *Mazagan*, and *Ceuta*, or *Septa*, and therefore may combine themselues with the Moores to the great damage of the Turkes: yet notwithstanding they might bee brideled with an Armada of shippes, and by passing also if need were, euen into Spaine. And withall, that the examples of *Tunise*, and *Goletta*, which was held to be impregnable, and yet was taken by *Sinan*, to his exceeding glorie, were so fresh in memorie, that they could not choose but remember them.

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§ VIII.

TOUCHING the third opinion, which was for the sending of an Armada to conquer the Isle of *Malta*, it was said: that considering the Mahometanes, both in their traffikes, and also in their pilgrimages, as they went to *Mecca*, receiued most notable losses by the Gallies of those knights: the great Turke ought to commaund that in any case order might be taken to secure that voyage, not onely for religions sake, but also to bee auenged of the trespasses and wrongs alreadie done vnto them, or rather to recouer the glorie of *Soliman*, who in vain, and without any good successe attempted to surprize it. That all the Subiects cried out and Exclaimed for the enlarging and deliuerie, some of their friends, & some of their kinsfolkes that were there in captiuitie: saying, that so did their forefathers, when they spoyled and depriued the same knights of the Isle of *Rhodes*, the chiefe fortresse and defence of the Christians in the East. Moreover, that they deserued due chastisement also, as well because they had furnished those that rebelled against the grand Turke in Africa, with munition of warre: as also because they endeouored to surprize *Modone* on a sodaine.

§ IX.

TOUCHING the fourth opinion, which was to moue warres against the King of Spaine, it was said: that if the *Ottoman* Empire were determined

The third opinion to conquer Malta, and the reason thereof.

Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Isle of Rhodes.

The fourth opinion against the king of Spaine; and the reasons thereof.

The cape of Aguera.
The haue of Araza.

The rebellion of Marabut.

Certaine places which the Spaniards hold in Africa.

Tunise and Goletta.

The second part

terminated to attaine the Monarchie of the whole world, it was not possible to be atchieued, vnlesse the mightines of that Prince were first weakened, who without al doubt was the greatest both for state and riches that Christendome had. That it could not be feared least the said King of Spaine should assault *Algieri*, for that it was now a great deale better fortified then it was in the time of *Crai* the Spaniard: (for so by a Sclauoine tearme, the Turks of the Court do call Charles the fift.) That although Spaine should take courage to enterprise such a matter, in regarde of the losses which it receyueth continually by the Pyrates of Africa, yet it would be restrained from so doing for verie feare, least it should bring an Armada of enemies into those seas, who might peradventure endamage it greatly. That the Spanish Gallies would not hazard themselves to come into the Levante, because they would not bee so farre from home. Moreover, that the resolutions of that King, either in regard of his many busineses, or in some other respect are verie slowe. And as it is manifestly seene by that which they did at *Preuessa*, and *Nauarino*, the Spaniards doe vterly refuse euē for their owne commoditie and benefite to encounter with the Ottoman forces. That the said King of Spaine walketh with great cōsideration: for (if it be true) in the latter end of the Persian war, he denied to aid the king of Persia, when hee might haue succoured him as before he had done. That although he would peradventure stirre in defence of himselfe, and his state against the Turkish forces, yet he could not so doe in deede: considering that he is so greatly occupied in the

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the maintenance of Flanders, and recouerie of the lowe Countries, which are verie strong both in regarde of the Sea floods, and of the many riuers that are therein: and so much the more troubled hee is, by reason of the obstinate and constant resolution of that people, for the preseruatiō of their libertie and religion: and likewise in respect of the great enmitie which is betweene that king and the Queene of England, who doth greatly ease that warre, by troubling him in his state of Portugall, by intercepting his treasures of the Indies, and by sacking his kingdomes, as particularly she did at the Groine, which is a place of verie great importance to annoy Spaine, to disturbe the navigation of the Indies, and also to attempt diuers other places in that other navigation of the Ocean. Moreover, that he was so farre interested in the wars of France, that he could not wholly turne himselfe any whither else. To bee short: that suppose he be reconciled, and at peace with the said princes, so that with more safetie and ease hee might attend this principall enterprise intended against him; yet might the Turke damnifie him in his Spices and other Marchandizes, yea, and (if neede were) he might diuert him into the Red-sea, otherwise called the Persian Gulfe, by means of the Gallies, that lie so conueniently and commodiously for that purpose at *Suez*: or hee might surprise some good fortresse of his, as was attempted against the Portugales for *Dik* and *Ormuz*, and as *Alfonso d'Albuquerque*, the Portugall Viceroy in the Indies, thought once to haue done, when he meant to haue stollen away the bones of *Mahomet*, by a

How greatly the king of Spaine may be troubled with the Moores, the French, & the English.

How the king of Spaine may be diuerted to the Persian Gulfe.

Alfonso d'Albuquerque.

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lodaine

The second part

to daime incurfion into the Countrey with certaine light horfemen, euen as farre as *Mecca*: and as it was done at other times, while the Soldans reigned: and alfo as *Trayan* the Emperour was minded to haue done in his time. Againe, that the passages into Africa might be much troubled, especially if the Turke would fet vpon the Spanifh coaft in the Mid-land fea, which would bee a great contentment to the fubiefts, who doe continuallie make humble petition and fupplication for it, as well in regard of the fafetie of their traffique and pilgrimages, as alfo that the poore Moores might once bee deliuered from the dominion of the Spaniard, as *Selim* at the left was perfwaded to haue done. And fo much the rather, for that the faid Moores, who are now multiplied into a great number, although they keepe clofe both for feare, & alfo for their traffique, whereby they are growen to bee verie rich, yet as well by nature, as alfo for Religion, doe beare a mortall hatred againft the Spaniards. Moreouer, that this courfe might eafily bee performed by reafon of the conueniencie of the hauens in Africa, which lie neer at hand: and alfo becaufe the faid Princes of Fraunce and England, haue offered to continue their warres, with him the King of France, by difquieting him in the parts of *Nauarra*, for the chalenge which hee hath thereunto: and the Queene of England (as it hath bene faid) not onely by letting vpon him in the *West Indies*, and in the Ocean, which he may doe both by North and by West, but alfo by raifing againe fome new ftirres in Portugall, where there doth not want great ftore of Mal-contents. For that

people

the Ottoman.

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people doth thinke, that with the losse of their laft king, they haue alfo loft all their wealth and profperitie: becaufe that as vnder his gouernment they grew rich by the peace that he intertaind with the faid princes of France and England: fo vnder the Spaniards dominion they do find, that by the warres they liue in continuall perils and daunger. Againe, there be many banifhed and discontented perfons, not onely of the kingdome of Portugall, but alfo of the kingdome of Aragon in France, in England, and in Constantinople, who together with many Moores, (which alfo were in Constantinople) haue offered many aydes and helps both secretly and openly: and haue promifed that the enterprife will be verie eafie, when fo euer Spaine fhall be fet vpon, efpecially if it bee done vpon a fudden. For the greateft part of that kingdome doth want the vfe of militarie knowledge: becaufe the people of that Countrey do not applie themfelues to armes, neither are there any ordinarie bands of Souldiers ouer all the realme: and but a fmall number of horfes neither. Moreouer, that the Subiefts, which Spaine fendeth forth into the Indies, into Flanders, and into Italie, are fo manie in number, as they doe greatly weaken it: yea, fo much, that if occafion fhould fo fall out, it fhould not onely want helpe of their owne, but alfo fhould ftand in need to be relieued with the ayde and affiftance of other ftates that are neere vnto them, and fubiefts of the fame crowne, who peraduenture would proue to be of no great good feruice, and fo much the leffe, becaufe they may eafily be ftopped, and diuerted fome other way.

Spaine not well exercifed in militarie knowledge.

Spaine wanteth men.

N 2

X

The Moores wearie of the Spanifh gouernment.

The second part

X.

The fifth opinion, to break peace with Venice: & the reasons thereof.

THe fifth opinion, was to breake the peace with the state of Venice. For this said they, which endeououred to perswade the great Turkes mind thereunto, rather with apparent reasons, then with such as were true in deede: (though peradventure, *euery man easily beleeuing that which he desireth*, they might seeme verie probable and likely to the Turkes:) that no enterprise happily would proue lesse hard and difficult then this, as it might be found by the experience and examples of such actions as had passed heretofore: especially seeing the Turkes not many yeares agoe hauing warred with the Venetians, and surprised somewhat of theirs, had receiued many and great satisfactions at their hands to make peace with them. That the said Common-wealth & State of Venice, accounting peace to be the end whereto it shooteth, it should seeme that the people is timorous and cowardly, and by their ancient ordinances and customes, do neuer prepare themselues to war, but when they are drawne into it by force: that peradventure they will thinke to be overcome, before they looke for it, as it fell out with them for the kingdom of Cyprus. That if the said state would make resistance by it selfe alone, perhaps it hath not forces sufficient: if ioyned in confederacie with others, it could not performe any great matter in haste, by reason of the many difficulties, that depend vpon leagues: and namely of the seuerall cogitations and interestes, wherewith the Spanish king is now intangled.

The king of Spaine cannot helpe Venice against the Turke.

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tangled: in regard whereof it was enforced at last to make peace with *Selem*. Moreouer, that it was a hard matter, if not impossible, that the said king, being so greatly occupied in his other warres, could at this time ioyne in league with that state: and also that without him all other confederacies, to make warre by Sea, were of no importaunce or consideration. And as for the Pope, though it be very likely, that he will do all that possibly he can do, to keepe the Christian princes from annoying the said state, but rather will aduertise and admonish them to ayde and succour it: yet the most that he can doe himselfe is onely that he may yeeld it some assistance, either of moneys, or of some Ecclesiasticall profites, or else peradventure hee may send to ioyne with their Armada, his five Gallies, which together with the Gallies of *Malta*, of *Sauoy*, and of *Florence*, can make no more but twentie in all, at the most. And besides, that the said state of Venice hath not happily that good intelligence, with all the rest of the Christian princes, which in such a case were needfull for it, (but the Turkes are therein greatly deceiued.) And to be short, seeing it hath spent great store of golde in discharging the debtes of the Treasurie, whereinto it had runne by the last warres, and by building many fortresses, it will be found peradventure not so well provided and furnished with money. And lastly, that all that state being verie full of forts, it is impossible at one time to keepe them all well fenced, and sufficiently strengthned.

What reliefe the Pope can yeeld to Venice.

But for as much, as it seemed, that the greatest part of the *Visiers* did concur in this opinion, but yet varied among

Diversitie of opinions among the *Basas*, how and where to annoy Venice.

The second part

among themselves, how to attempt this enterprize: I will set downe their differences in particularitie.

Sinan the Albanian, of Topoiano, a town of the Sanguaccheship of Preseremo, who died the last yeare of a naturall death, but peradventure somewhat discontented, because the warre of Hungary succeeded not according to his mind: (and yet some thinke rather that he died of poyson :) hee perswaded, that Corfu should be attempted, vnder the pretence of 3. hundred Duckats a yeare, due to the Emperiall Chamber of Turkie, euer since the yeare 1537: for La Bastia, because it was yeilded to the Corsiotes but vpon that condition.

La Bastia is a wast and desert place, being vnder a towne of the Turkes in Epirus, twelue miles right ouer against Corfu, neare to the Salt pittes, which are in the Turkes possession at the mouth of the riuer Calamatta: and is the principall port and Staple for the Marchandizes, which come from a great part of Greece, to bee imbarcked at Corfu.

But in verie deed Sinan endeouored to perswade this attempt, because the Fortresse of Corfu was thought to be vnuanquishable, both by Nature and by Arte: and hee being exceedingly ambitious to atchieue the name and title of a great Conquerour, was so bold and hardie, especially vpon the exployte which he did at Goletta, as to promise to himselfe a verie easie conquest of this also: as in truth hee did not sticke to vaunt that he could performe it, when he passed by Corfu, in his victorious returne from the enterprize of Goletta.

Ferat, who was called Carailam, that is to say, the Blacke

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Black-Serpent, and died also the last yeare, being by Mahomet caused to bee strangled: (how wisely and considerately, I leaue to the iudgement of those that vnderstand matters of state better then I do.) For he was accused to haue practised intelligence with the Tartarian of Crimo, that he should refuse to come to the Turkish campe, because Ferat himselfe was not Generall thereof: and to haue endeouored also a reconciliation for Michael the Vainode, and the Trasiluaniâ, both at one time, by giuing the court to vnderstand that they had not rebelled for any hatred which they caried indeed against the Turks, but rather vpon an indignation conceiued agaynst Sinan. Al which he laboured onely of purpose to bring the said Sinan into disgrace, whom hee helde to bee his most capitall enemie, because hee was made Masul, that is to say, hee was degraded, for the tumult and stirre that fel out betweene the Iannizzaries and the Spahoglanes, at the circumcision of the now-reigning Turke. This Ferat aduised, that Catharo should bee conquered, because he thought that the saide Fortresse did keepe Castell Nuouo (as it were) in bondage, and that it was the principall key of Dalmatia, of the Adriatique Sea, and of Venice. And also that hee being borne at Adronici, a Castell of Albania, could verie well know euen from his yongest yeares, that the said Fortresse, which is famous in that prouince, was of so great importance, as in truth it is.

I haue somewhat enlarged this Discourse of the particulars touching Sinan and Ferat, because I haue had occasion many times (as I shall also haue hereafter) to make mention of them, as the most principall men in this Empire

Ferat Bassa, & his death.

Ferat degraded.

He aduertised to attempt Catharo.

Adronici.

pire

Sinan and his death.

He perswadeth to attempt Corfu.

La Bastia.

Goletta.

The second part

pire, and in this warre.

Sinan Cicals, an errant enemy to the state of *Venice*, for the reasons which we haue aboue alledged, he perswaded that *Cerigo* should bee attempted, for the selfe-same causes, for which he calleth it the Lanterne of the *Archipelago*, and the spie of the Turkish actions, especially for that it is manifestly perceiued and seene: how the Christians may easily passe ouer into *Morea*, out of this Island. So did *Damaratus* king of the *Lacedemonians*, when he was banished out of his kingdom, aduise and counsell *Xerxes*, that if he would attaine to the Lordship and gouernment of Greece, hee must possesse himselfe of this Island which at this time was called *Cythera*.

Other Bassaes there were, which held opinion, that to be reuenged of the spoyles and robberies committed by the *Vscocchi* (of whom I will speake somewhat hereafter) and to meete with other their wrongs and iniuries, they should surprize *Nouigrad* and *Zara*: or at the least, that the *Venetians* should be enforced and of necessity constrained by that means to be bound, to pay al the losses and damages which those rouers and theeves had wrought against the Turkes, both by land and by sea. For the *Venetians* had denied to be bound to make any such recompence, because in the publike Bookes and Registers of *Constantinople*, there was not to bee found any agreement, or any payment for the same, as in truth there was not. The same Bassaes also were of opinion, that it were fit the *Venetians* should bee spoyled and bereaued of their Fishings at *Buthroto*, which at this day is corruptly called *Butintiro*, (a place directly

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rectly ouer against *Corfu*, and ten miles somewhat more West of *La Bastia*. (Wherunto they were moued, not because the Turkes were neuer heretofore possessed of them (although the Venetians had possessed the same, long before the Turkes had any possession in *Albania*) but onely because there runneth a rumour among them, that the said fishings are rented at a hundred thousand duckats, where as in deed there is no more payed for them, then six thousand or thereabouts.

Some other Bassaes were of opinion, that the Turkish fleet should vpon a sodaine go forth with a good wind, either from *Morea*, or from the gulf of *Lepanto*, or from *Preuisa*, or else from *Velona*, and run all along the coastes of the Adriaticall sea, with a full resolution to surprize that part that should bee found most couenient and commodious for them. Which course they did thinke would very easily sort to verie good purpose, because they presumed, that all the places which lay vpon the sea, might verie fitly bee annoyed also vpon the land, for that the Turkes haue almost all that Countrey in their possession. These Bassaes likewise aboue all other attempts, propounded the easinesse and also the great importance of possession *Pola*, and *Ragugia*. The one because it is a Citie, which is altogether disinhabited, and hath a verie faire haven, and is situate in *Istria*, and is also a prouince not verie wel furnished with Souldiers and inhabitants, nor greatly strengthened or fenced with Fortresses: and principally, because it seemeth that the said City of *Pola*, is not distant from Venice, aboue a hundred and twentie

O

miles

Others perswade to attempt the coastes of the Adriaticke sea.

Others *Pola*,

Sinan Cicals perswade to attempt *Cerigo*.

Damaratus King of *Lacedemonians*.

Other Bassaes perswade the attempt of *Nouigrad* and *Zara*.

The fishings of *Butintiro*.

The second part

miles. And the other, that is to say *Ragugia*, because it is (as it were) the second Gate, (for the first and chiefest is thought to bee *Corfu*) whereby you may enter into the Maritimall and Sea-state of the Venerian Common-wealth in the Adriaticall sea, and also because the situation therefore, is most fit and conuenient for preparation to be made therein, for annoying of Italie, if they should meane so to do in good earnest: especially, for that the state of *Rugugia* hath within it most safe and spacious portes and hauens, whereof indeed the Turke hath great want in that quarter of the sea.

For *Durazzo* hath not any haven able to receiue foure Gallies, and also in the entrance thereof, there are many flattes and shelves which are verie dangerous. Twelue miles beyond *Durazzo*, vnder the Cape or Promōtorie of *Lacchi*, there is an other harborough for twenty gallies, or there aboutes, but it is not verie safe: neither are there any great good waters about it. In the Gulfe of *Velona*, there is also an other harborough vnder the land for so many gallies likewise. Somewhat nearer on this side, about some eight miles, is the Haven called *Porto Raguseo*, where may lodge some thirtie Gallies, but not verie safely on the North, on the North-west, nor on the West. Without the Gulfe, at least in the coast of *Albania*, or rather within the Gulfe (for the ancient Authours doe bound the *Adriaticall Sea* with the mountaines of *Cimmeria*) there is first the Haven of *Santi quaranta* (i. the fortie Saints) where likewise they may entertaine some few Gallies. And a little on this side of that, is *Neribo*, sometimes called *Orico*: where

Others Ra-
gugi.

What ports
the Turke
hath in the
Adriaticke sea.

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where the Romanians touched, when they departed from *Otranto*, to the end they might afterwards saile all along that coast. And this Haven is able to receiue fortie Gallies: but it is not verie safe. The onely hauens of *Ragugia*, which be five or sixe, are of the greatest receyte: in three whereof especially in the Haven of *Santa-Croce*, there may be entertained and harboured all the Armadaes of the world, much more the fleete of the Turkish Shippes. The same place also is verie fit and conuenient for the Turkes, because they may easily conueigh thither their timber for ships, from the Mountaines of the *Ducagini* in *Albania*: which cannot so commodiously be brought into the other portes aboue mentioned as I haue somewhat more at large declared in other writings that I haue penned vpon the occasion of this warre.

The haven of
Santa Croce.

But the greatest part of the Visiers enclined most to the attempt of the Isle of *Candie*, for (said they) seeing it is most necessarie to secure the nauigation, which the Turkes continually make from Constantinople to Alexandria, for Marchandises, and for deuotion to Mecca, that they might bee safe from the Gallies of Spaine, of Malta, and of Florence, it could not otherwise bee brought to passe, but by one of these two wayes, as a captain of the *Emirs* once said. (*These Emirs professe themselves to be of the right & true descent from their Law giuer Mahomet, and therefore they wear a Greene Turbant:*) that is to say, eyther by binding the Venitians, that they shall not onely beare to giue entertainment to the saide Gallies within there Seas, but also make satisfaction for all

Others per-
swade to at-
tempt the Isle
of Candie,

What the E-
mirs are, and
why they wear
a Greene Tur-
bant.

The second part

losses, that the Turkes shall sustaine, as often as they shall not safely garde their said ships from all such dangers. Or else by causing the Venetians to suffer and permit a good companie of Turkish Gallies to be resident at *Candie* for that purpose. Herevnto they added also, that this attempt would proue the better, & come to good successe, because that kingdom is diuided in it selfe, by reason of the difference which is betweene the Greeke Religion, and the Latine, and for the great discontentments, which some (but falsly and vainly peraduentur) do report, to be growen betwene the noble men of Venice, and the Noble men of Candie, betweene those that are priuiledged persons, and those that are tied to impositions and taxes, and betweene the Clownes and the Gentlemen there. And so much the rather, for that it is a verie easie matter to set vpon it with a Turkish Armada, seeing it is (as it were) compassed about with *Natolia*, with *Caramania*, with *Barbarie*, with *Alexandria*, with *Morea*, and with the *Arcipelago*, which are all Countreys belonging to the Turkish Empire: so that they may easily from hand to hand ayde and succour those that should first attempt to disturbe therein. Moreouer, that by the purchase and winning of this most fruitfull Island, they should obtaine the absolute commaund and rule of the Sea, for that it is (as it were) the verie Center in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, or rather of the world, considering that it is almost equally distant in situation from *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, so that it was by the auncient Authours adiudged the most fit and conuenient seate of all the worlde.

And

the Ottoman.

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And this also might so much the more easily bee brought to passe, for that thereby the number of the Venetians Gallies should be diminished, and the Ottoman Empire should encrease the meanes to make many more Gallies, then now they haue. Lastly, seeing there are many *Candiot*es remayning in *Constantinople*, they may haue good information, and some aide also of them, and so much the more, because many of them are banished persons, and haue eyther withdrawne themselues into that City to get their liuings, by labouring in the *Arsenall*, and in *Pera*, or else are come thither with marchandises, and specially their most pretious wines, which they bring thorough the Greater Sea, and from thence to the mouthes of the *Danowe*, and so to *Chilia*, to *Gallatz*, to *Rene*, euen to the *Floz* in *Walachia*, and then in Cartes into *Polonia*: For into *Germanie* they are brought, not by that way (as some write) but by the Ocean to *Hamburgh*, and to *Lubeke*, and some fewe to *Danske*: and yet there are some carried thither also by the way of *Venice*.

The wayes how the Muscadels of Candie are conuayed into Polonia, Moscouie & Germanie.

§. XI.

THE Sixt opinion was, that leauing all these other courses and enterprises, all the Forces, that the Turkes could make aswel by Land, as by Sea, should be sent against *Italie*: And the reasons were these. That if they were minded indeed to attempt the conquest of the Monarchie of the worlde, the Turkish Empire should neuer attaine vnto it, vnlesse it first obtayned the Rule and Lordshippe of *Italie*:

The Sixt opinion to attempt Italie, and the reasons thereof.

O 3

because

The second part

because out of that Prouince, as from the Centre of the vniuersal world there doe proceed all the counsels and principall assistances, that may hinder and crosse the proceedinges which are attempted elsewhere. That the Romanes became to bee Lordes and Maisters of the world, because they had the gouernment of *Italie* in possession. That the *Hunnes* did alwayes direct all their designementes to that onely end, when they passed into *Italie* out of *Hungaria*, by *Dalmatia*, and by *Carso*. That the *Alanes* and the *Gothes*, as well those that dwelt on this side, as those also on the other side of the *Danone*, after they had conquered *Grecia*, entred into *Italie* by the waye of *Bosna* and *Croatia*. That the *Vandales* also, hauing subdued *Spaine*, went thither with an Armada of shippes out of *Africa*: And lastly, That the *Germanes*, the *Frenchmen* and the *Spaniardes*, had oftentimes done the like. Moreouer, that the *Saracens* (of whome it was wont to bee said in the Romanes times, that it was very conuenient either not to haue them enemies, or to keepe them friendes,) had ouerrunne it all thorough, kept it a long while in their possession, and sacked *Rome* it selfe, the Ladie and Empreffe of the world: A Citty, which (as *Sultan Soliman* very fondly sayed according to the reporte of *Iouius*) did of right belong to the Ottoman Empire, because it was alienated by *Constantine*, to the great preiudice of his successors. To bee short, that there could no enterprise be attempted, either more glorious or more profitable, then this of *Italie*, for that it is the Prouince, which is Queen of all the rest, for conueniencie of situation, for temperature of aire,

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ayre for fruitfulness for all thinges necessarie for mans life, for the maiestie and beautie of so many most famous and noble Cities, for riches, for the verie Sea, and seate of the Christians religion, for the auncient Glorie and mightinesse of that Empire, and for many other respects. That it would also bee a verie easie matter to bring to passe, for that *Italie* is at this day ruled and gouerned by manie Princes which are diuided among themselues, as well in regarde of their owne priuate interestes, as also of seuerall nations, whereof they are proceeded: and that peraduenture they are not all verie willingly and louingly obeyed of their Subiects and peoples, who by reason of the peace, which they haue so many yeares enioyed, will proue to be but cowards and weakelings: and for that also they are grown to such a huge multitude, as if entraunce should bee made into the Countrey, either in one part or in many, at such times as their corne were yet ripening in their fields, as the Turks should on their behalves want no vittailles, so should the Italians be of necessitie constrained either to shut vp themselues within their fortresses, or else to perishe for hunger. Which thing will be made more manifest and cleare, if yee shall consider, that now whiles they liue in peace, they haue not corne sufficient for their sustenance, but are enforced to provide the same abroad, and to cause it to be brought to them from *Morcia*, from *Constantinople*, and euen as farre as from the Ocean. Moreouer, that the Italians are accustomed for the most part to procure their liuings with handi-crafts, or with traffique, in such sort, as if their trades were hindered,

How the Italians provide themselves of Corne.

The Romans,
The Hunnes,
The Alani,
The Gothes,
The Vandales

The Dutch,
The French,
The Spanishe,
The Saracens,

The foolish
speech of Soli-
man touching
Rome.

The praise of
Italy,

The second part

hindered, they should bee compelled so much the rather to yeeld to such conditions as the conquerour shall impose vpon them, or at least to become tributaries, and acknowledge the *Ottomans* power. And besides, that the Turkish Souldiers would willingly goe thither, because they are not to passe through Countreies, which are barren, frozen with Ice, and disinhabited, or through thicke bushes and woods, or mountains vnpasseable, but as it were in the sight of their own houses, and through their own proper Countreies. And lastly, that if the *Turkes* haue entered therinto at other times, when their borders and confines were not so conuenient, nor so near as now they are: much more may they, or rather ought to attempt the same at this time, seeing they haue them now so nigh and commodious.

XII.

The seuenth opinion, to warre against Polonia, and the reasons thereof.

THE seauenth opinion was that they should make war first in *Polonia*, and then afterwarde in *Hungarie* and *Germanie*. The reasons thereof were these: That forasmuch as it did not stand with the dignity of the *Ottoman* maiesty, to suffer the king of *Polonia* so often to refuse the payment of his Tribute, it was very fitte, that all forcible meanes should bee vsed to recover the same. That for the many discontentmentes, which haue passed in that Kingdome, there was very good hope that hee might the more easily bee enforced to pay it. That the warre should be verie conuenient and commodious for the *Turkes*, because *Polonia* was so neare, & bordered

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bordered vpon *Moldania*, and vpon the *Tartarians*, and also vpon the *Sangiackeshippes* of *Achermano*, & of *Bendero*, and vpon *Vosia*. Againe, That the entier and quiet possession of *Moldania*, and *Walachia*, could neuer be kept & maintained, vnlesse the hardie boldnes of the *Polackes* were bridlede: and so much the more for that the *Vaiuodes* of those prouinces, although they were greatly enriched, yet could they neuer recover theselues in any distresse, nor bee relieued any where but in the *Turkes* kingdome. That by these meanes also the iniuries might bee reuenged, which were wrought against the *Turkes* by the *Cosacchi*, when they sacked *Coslow*, The Cosacchi Coslow. a place in *Taurica* belonging to the *Turkish* state: that therby likewise the passage should be eased for their Marchandises, that goe from the *Turkish* States into *Mosconie*: that the *Moscouite* himselfe should bee put in a bodily feare, (and that peruadventure to his great losse and damage) because his Countrey laye so neare, especially, considering that hee was the impediment, why the *Ottoman* Empire atchieued not the totall conquest of *Persia*. That growing in this sort so nigh unto *Germanie*, it may bee that one onely discomfiture would vtterly ouerthrow the Emperour, for that hee should see his Countrey the more easily compassed about with the *Ottoman* Forces: That to bee short, all the Countrey of *Polonia* is very open and without Fortresses, and that the *Polackes* themselves were not now to bee accounted any great warriours, because they haue liued so long in peace: For the wars which they made with *Maximilian* were but of small continuance, and the other

P

warres

The second part

warres which were made before by King Stephen with the *Muscouite*, were made by him as hee was an *Hungarian*, and rather with *Hungarian* Souldiers, then with Naturall *Polackes*, and rather with besieging, then with fighting.

§ XIII.

The eight opinion to war against the Emperour: and the reasons thereof.

The insolencies of the *Vicocchi*.

THE eight and last opinion was, that warre should bee made against the Emperour, whome the *Turkes* call, *The King of Beiz*, that is to say, of *Vienna*, in times past peradventure *Vindoniana*. Those which were of this opinion, were moued thereunto: for that the *Vicocchi* were become so insolent in praying vpon the *Turkes* both by land and by sea, as not only in regard of the losses, which they continually wrought, but also euen for the honour of the *Ottoman* maiestie, they could no longer be endured: & so much the rather, for that the marchants subiect to the *Turke*, both to the publike and to their owne priuate detriment, haue beene constrained to change the Port of *Narenta*, and to go to *Spalato*, a Countrey belonging to the *Venetians*, to the end they might carrie their Marchandizes into the Christians Countreys, and bring backe other Marchandizes for them into *Turkie*. And yet they could not by that course goe and come safe, neither notwithstanding the peace, that hath beene continued with the Emperour and the *Venetians*. Moreover, that they also ranne vp and downe by land, stealing mens cattell, burning townes and villages, and taking children euen out of the verie armes of their

of the Ottoman.

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their naturall mother. So that there is great reason to feare, least in time they will be able to become the Lordes and maisters of some neighbour-Fortresse, which would be a matter that might turne, not only to the great losse, but also much rather to the exceeding shame and dishonour of the *Ottoman* Empire. Againe, that for so much as the Emperour had carried so slender a respect towards the grand-Turk, whiles he was busied in the warres of *Persia*, as that he delayed in deed for a long time to send him his tribute: (for so the *Turkes* call it) hee made shew thereby that hee was rather minded to breake the peace, then to maintaine it. That the victorie would proue both easie and certaine, for that on the one side he might be assaulted in *Croatia*, and on the other side in *Hungarie*, and in *Austria*. That the countrey was fruitfull and abounding in all things, verie commodious and fit for the Souldiers, both in regard of the neerenesse thereof, and also because they should passe thither (almost all the way) by their owne houses. That the principall Holdes of the Kingdome of *Hungarie*, namely *Belgrado*, *Buda*, and *Alba-Regale*, and the rest that are of the greatest importance, were possessed and garded verie well with the *Turkish* garrisons. And that although some discomfort might peradventure happen, yet would they be most conuenient receits for the Reliques of the armie, where they may be as well defended and preserued, as also repaired and renewed with such helpes and aydes, as are there nigh at hand. That the Emperour seemed to be inclined rather to peace then to warre: and it may be also, that hee is not so

The easinesse of this warre.

The second part

well esteemed and obeyed by all the Princes of Germanie, as his degree requireth. That all the Princes of Germanie were diuided, as well in regard of their interest in Religion, and in state, as also particularly in respect of the election of the Newe King of Romanes. That they are almost wearie (as some of the Protestant Princes doe feuerally reporte) of the gouernement of the house of *Austria*: and that they are also too much giuen to the loue of their treasures and riches. And finally, that seeing there are many yeares passed since the Germanes haue handled neither Launce nor Arcubuse, they cannot now tell how to take Armes, nor to vse them: besides that they will hardly bee obedient to their Capitanes. Lastly, That euen as the saide Almanes themselves would alwayes dwell in murmur and distrust with the Hungarians, with the Italians and with the Spaniardes, as often as they should goe to the warres together, because those nations are naturally not well liked, (I will not say hated) by them: So the sayde Dutchmen, being enemies among themselves for the diuersitie of Heresies which they follow, will alwayes bee afrayde, least if the Emperour should obtaine the victorie and remaine Conquerour, that then they shall bee compelled to forsake their licentious liberty, and to obey the Pope: So that there is no doubt, but that they will rather forbear to fight, then to helpe their prince and themselves. To bee short, that there could be no feare of any aide or succours, which the Emperour might haue of other princes. Not of the Polacke, nor of the Transylvanian, as well in regarde of the peace

The Emperour can haue no aid of other Princes.

of the Ottoman.

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peace, which is between the Great Turke and the, as also for that they will be in doubt, least they should drawe all the tide and force of the warre into their owne States and Dominions. Besides, that the one of them would be afrayde, least hee should bee enforced to abandon the Frontiers, and retire himselfe to the frozen Sea, and the other least he should bee deprived of that Estate, which hee possessed by the Graunt of the Ottoman House. Moreover, that the King of Spaine, who is the onely Man that can helpe the house of Austria in deede, is otherwise employed and busied. That the pope cannot yeeld supply for all, that shall bee needefull in this busines. That the Italian princes will not runne in haste to spend their Treasures, nor consume their subiectes for an other mans benefite. And for conclusion, That the State of *Venice*, doubting that it should thereby prouoke the Ottoman Forces against it selfe, would rather stay to see the issue and successe of the warre, then it would put it selfe to a certaine, or at least to a doubtfull danger of ouerthrowing it selfe.

And these were the feuerall opinions of the Visiers, inconsiderate no doubt for the most parte, and agreeable to their barbarous temerity and rashnes, whereby they saue vnto themselves that those thinges are easie, which afterwarde by experience they proue not onclie to bee difficult and hard, but also very dangerous and pernicious.

P. 3.

§ XIII.

The second part

§ XIII.

BVt for as much as my meaning is to satisfie those also, that may in any sort doubt of the varietie and truth of the things, which I haue spoken, I will adde hereunto in briefe, how the Turkes come acquainted with our matters, and how wee come acquainted with theirs: though it be most certaine, that the like consultations are proper to all Princes, and particularly to the *Ottoman* Princes, as among other examples, we know that *Soliman*, and the last *Selim*, did vse the same, the one of them by examining with his Bassaes the forces of all the Princes of the world, and the other by aduising with them, which might be the most certaine way to conquer the Christians.

Without doubt the great Turke, and the great men of that Courte are verie well informed and aduertised, as well of all actions that daylie happen, as also of the designementes and purposes, yea and of the most secret counselles of our Princes, sometymes by the merchauntes, which of all nations are at Constantinople, and sometymes by the Slaues, whom the Turkes euery day. A great number whereof, doe also verie oftentimes most impiously denie and renounce the faith and religion of Christ, either for rewards that are propounded and offered vnto them, or else to auoyd the most horrible and cruell punishment, which they had before endured at their barbarous hands, or peraduenture for some other end and purpose, as did of late yeares one of the Emperours

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Emperours Secretarie, who was resident at *Constantinople*. Besides that the Hebrues, who are the most cunning and craftie searchers and inquirers of matters, and most mortall enemies to the Christians, are dispersed in great number ouer all the Turkish dominion, especially by reason of the traffique which they vse continually in the *Ottoman* Market townes, and also for the tolles and customes which are almost wholly in their hands, through all that state. And they thinke, that by seruing the Turkes for spies and priers into our actions and affaires they shall not only secure themselves of their goods, their owne persons, and their children, but also that they shall reape great gaine and commoditie of importance, whereby they doe much gratifie and pleasure the great estates of that Empire. The last war which the Venetians had with the Turke, was much occasioned by one *John Miches* an Hebrew, who was discontented with them, because hee could not by stealth conueigh away certain marchandizes, which vnder a forged name he had caused to be brought to *Venice*. Of one *John Lopez* an Hebrew also (whose picture by order of the holie Inquisition was of late yeares burned at *Rome*). it is most certainly knowne for a truth, that hee imparted and communicated with *Amurath* many secretes of Pope *Xistus Quintus* which he by espiall had found and learned whiles he remained in *Rome*. Lastly, it is not to be doubted, but that the Turkes doe also keepe diuerse Spies in pay, that are neare to all the Princes in Christendom: yea (and that which is a great matter, but yet it is true) euen among the *Zwitzers*, and *Grisons* of purpose.

The Emperours Secretarie became a Renegado The Iewes.

John Miches a Iew.

John Lopez a Iew.

Spies among Christians.

The consultations of Soliman & Selim.

How the Turkes come to the knowledge of our affaires,

Marchants slaues,

The second part

purpose to vnderstand what leuies of Souldiers are made of those peoples.

§ XV.

How we come to the knowledge of the Turkes affaires

AND as touching our Christian Princes, the expences are most notorious and well knowne, which they bestow, not onely to learne the counsels one of another, (and that oftentimes to the great shame and damage of those that serue them in these actions) but especially and principally to vnderstand the counsels and designements of the Turke their common enemy. For those Princes which haue the greatest interest and entercourse with him, do keep (euen within the Citie of *Constantinople*) many Spies in pay, yea giuing wages and stipends to the verie Iewes, and also to such Turkes, as are most in trust, and neere in credite with the chiefe Bassaes, besides the large gifts which they liberally bestow vpon others, when they haue any matter of moment communicated vnto them. Moreouer, the Bassaes themselves will not sticke sometimes to impart to our Embassadours such matters, as are propounded among them in their secreete and priuie Councell before the great Turke himselfe: although he doth vse verie oftentimes to call his Councell into the fild, taking occasion to go on hunting, to the end it should not bee so easie for any particular persons to sound the depth of his deliberations. But the Bassaes are hereunto moued vpon diuerse and sundrie considerations: sometimes vpon affection, as heretofore did *Mahomet Socalenich* the chiefe Visier of *Selim*, and the

Spies, Iewes and Turkes.

The Bassaes

Why the Bassaes disclose the Turkes secretes,

of the Ottoman.

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the Muphti of that time, to the Agents of the state of Venice. What * Muphti is.

Muphti is the chiefe man among the Turkes in their spirituall Superstitions, & the chiefe Interpreter of the law of Mahomet, and is of so great authoritie in shew and apparence that in matters of counsel his opinion is neuer contradicted or gainsaid: I say in apparence, because when the Turke is disposed to haue any matter goe forward in deed, the Muphti either for flatterie, or for feare, is the first and chiefe man to commend it.

Sometimes the Bassaes are moued so to doe, for that by quarrelling and iarring among themselves, they thinke by these meanes the more easily to disturb the designements and purposes of their opposites, as peraduenture the aforesayde Bassaes did, and as *Sinan* and *Ferat* at last were wont to doe. Or to be short, they are verie oftentimes moued thereunto, because all Turkes generally are beyond all measure greedie of bribes and gifts: as for example among the Bassaes, that same *Hasan* shewed himself to be, who was a Venetian of the *Cilestri*, and General of the Sea before *Cicala*. For when one of the Visiers had offered in Councell to the great Turke that he would surprise the Citie of *Venice*, and was not hearkened vnto, but rather reprobued for his ridiculous vanitie, hee went straight to the Venetian Bailo, or Agent, and told him, that whereas such a matter was propounded in the Councell by others, he withstood it, for the naturall affection which he carried towards that Common wealth: for the which he receiued a most rich present. Lastly, it is true also, that the Ottoman Counsellors do rewarde their

The cunning knauerie of *Hasan Bassa*

Q

The second part

their seruants, and enrich them by imparting their secretes vnto them, to the ende that they may afterwards acquaint such withall, as vse to bee most liberrall to them. And so doe they likewise to their women: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the *Sultane Ladies* (who are either the King-folkes or the fauorites of the great Turke, dwelling continually in the *Serraglioes*, where al principall busineses are managed and handled) become acquainted with these secretes, which afterwarde for verie rich gifts and presents that are sent to the said Ladies, from the officers and Agents of such Princes as the secretes doe concerne, by the Eunuches that wait vpon them and keepe them, are verie easily disclosed and reuealed. Moreover they do sometimes in deuour with all their studie and industrie, to performe some notable seruice towards some Prince, to the end they might receiue the oftner and richer Gratuities from him. The mother of the now reigning Turke, pretendeth to honour the state of Venice, and craueth of it verie many times some reward for the same. It is not long ago since all the *Sultane Ladies* requested of the sayd state, that it would forbid the carrying out of certain feathers that are counterfeited and forged of glasse, at *Murano*: which being ioyned and set together, do much resemble the plumes made of a Herons feathers. And this request they made, because the said counterfeit or forged feathers, were sold so good cheape at *Constantinople*, and yet did so please and satisfie the people, that the said *Sultane Ladies* could not sell at so high a rate, as before they did, the goodly bunches and bundles of feathers of seuerall birds, which were

The Ladie
Sultanes.

Feathers made
of Glasse.

of the Ottoman.

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were sent vnto them for Presentes, from diuerse quarters in great quantities: for it is the vse not onely of men, but of women also, to weare such feathers on their heades: following therein the manner of the Tartarians, (from whome it came to the Turkes:) for that *Zingi Chan* (who by some is not rightly called *Chan-gio*,) was saued aliue by the meanes of an Owle: for this Birde hauing alighted vpon a certaine thicket of young trees, among which *Zingi* had hidden himselfe, for feare of his enemies that pursued him, they did verily thinke that there could not be any body there, because the Birde remayned there so quietly. Whereupon the Tartarians (sayeth *Haytho*) do holde the sayde Birde in great reuerence, so that hee, which at that time could get any of her feathers, accounted himself a happy man. And euer after, all the other Tartarians from hand to hande haue still continually vsed to weare the like feathers on their heades in memorie of that action, and for a kinde of Reuerence.

The vse of
wearing fea-
thers, how and
where it be-
gan.

¶ XVI.

But to returne to our discourse where wee left it: *Amurath*, after hee had floated and wauered certaine dayes betweene the contrarieties of these his Vissers Opinions, resolved with himself to moue warre against the Emperour, hoping in this part of the world also to surpass the memorie of his predecessors, as hee thought hee had done in *Persia*, and so much the rather, for that hee was to make warre

Amurath res-
solueth to
make warre v-
pon the Empe-
tour.

The second part

in a Countrey adioyning to his owne, and consequently very conuenient for Vittailles, and not inconuenient for his Subiectes. Hereunto hee was also encouraged and heartened by *Sinan Cicala*, after that hee perceyued hee had not perswaded the enterprife of *Corfu*: hoping withall to obayne the Generallshippe, whereby hee might put downe his Opposites, and purchase greate riches: especially hauing authority, as indeede for the space of seauen yeares hee had, to doo whatsoeuer the Great Turke himselfe might haue done, if hee had beene present in the Campe. Moreouer *Hassan* the Bassa of *Bosna*, a man rather temerarious and headdie, then valorous: (if yee consider what he did in *Croatia*) continually solicited *Amurath* to the same purpose: both for the selfe same end, which is common to all the Turkes, that is to say, to enrich himselfe by the meanes of warre, and also because hee verilie beleeuied, that by this course he should safely attaine and come to those supreme honours and dignities, which were foretold him by the superstitious South sayers. For beeing the Great Turkes chiefe Cut-throte or Executioner, he was a most vaine obseruer of such diuinations: Whereupon to satisfie *Sinan* and himselfe, hee did continually aduertise and inform the Turke of the losses and damages that were wrought by the *Vscocchi*, and by the Subiects of the Arch-duke, and of the burninges and spoiles that they committed whiles they ouerranne the Countrey: wherewith he did also assure him, that the best course hee could take, was to beginne the warre in those partes, and afterwarde pursue the same either

Encouraged
thereunto by
Sinan Cicali.

By *Hassan* the
Bassa of *Bosna*

of the Ottoman.

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ther against the Emperour, or against the Venetians, or else passing ouer on a sodaine into *Italie* (as was done in the dayes of *Mahomet*, of *Baiazet*, and of *Soliman*) to put all the princes of that Prouince into an exceeding feare, and so to reape and bring home most rich and wealthie spoyles. Yea he solicited him so farre, that at the last hee obtained licence of the Turke to begin the warre, by making himselfe to be seene and knowne that hee was in the confines of the Emperour: but yet with secret commision, that he should not say he did it vpon his commaundement. He erected the Fort of *Petrina* vpon the river of *Cupa*, which he called of himselfe *Hassan Grad*: a place from whence he might easily runne ouer the Countrey, and bridle *Carliscod*, *Zagabria*, *Metlica*, and all the Countreyes round thereabout: and spoyling the villages euerie where, hee filled all places with terrour, with teares, and with lamentations. And one thing I will note by the way, which is memorable, and notable, Namely, that the first man also, that ouerranne the Countrey in the confines of Persia at the last warres, in token that the Turke had broken the peace with him, was called euen by the same name *Hassan*, being the Bassa of *Van*, which is a Citie either of *Medea*, now called *Seruan*, and *Vaaspragan*, or in the confines thereof, and was sometimes the vttermost place that the Turkes had toward *Persia*: and the same *Hassan* was none otherwise ouerthrowen by the Persians, then as afterwarde it happened to this *Hassan*, in fighting with the Imperialists.

The fort of
Petrina.

A Parallele of
two Bassacs.

The second part

§ XVII.

What the Vscocchi be.

But because I haue oftentimes made mention of the *Vscocchi*, it will not be farre from the purpose, before I passe to other matter, briefly to tel you, who they be, and so much the rather, because they were the occasion of so great a warre. It is not true, that those whom wee call *Vscocchi*, (which signifieth by the Sclauoine worde *Scoci*, Skippers, or Leapers, because they skip and leape like Goats, with their corded shooes vpon the toppes of the Mountaines.) It is not true (I say) that they are Inhabitants of *Chimera*, as *Iouius* and others that follow his opinion do beleue. For the *Vscocchi* do dwell about fūe hundred miles distant from the *Chimeriottes* (and yet they are both people of *Albania*) in the Mountaines that are called *Acro-ceraunii*, in the mouth of the Gulfe, right against the Cape of *Santa Maria*, the vttermost Promontorie of all *Italie*. The *Vscocchi* speake the Sclauoine speech, but the *Chimeriottes* the Albanian: The one liue after the Romish rite, the other after the Greeke. The one are a companie gathered together, and that but of a few, the other naturall by country, and many in number. Among the *Vscocchi* there bee many *Murlacchi*, which cannot stay vnder the Turke, and many that are banished by the state neer to the Venetians and other Princes therabouts, and fled to the *Vscocchi* for verie pouertie. There are also among them many *Martelossi*, that are Spies, and theeuers in those quarters: for so in deed signifieth the worde *Martelos*, so that it is the name of a profession,

What the Martelossi are.

the Ottoman.

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sion, and not of a Nation, as some haue thought. And because I haue also made mention of the *Murlacchi*, I will not omit to tell you what they be. The *Murlacchi* are called in those partes all the Christians that dwell in the Mountaines, but specially those that inhabit the mountaine *Lica*, which is betweene *Nouigrad* and *Segna*. The originall of the Sclauoine worde *Moralacchi*, was at the beginning, when the Barbarians came into *Italie*, because after that they had passed *Walacchia*, they called the peoples that dwelled at the Adriatike Sea by that name, as if they would say, Dwellers on the Sea. For euen as the Turkes do call all the Italians by the generall word *Franchi*, of the particular nation of the Frenchmen, so did the Barbarians terme all Italians likewise by that tearme of *Vulacchi*, or *Vulofchi*, as though they were Walacchians.

The *Vscocchi* doe dwell vpon the Sea at *Segna*, and *Buccari*, and within the land of *Orthozaz*, and ouer all *Vinodol*, which is a territorie belonging to the Conte of *Sdrim*. And although they runne vp and downe all those quarters, spoyling and robbing, and stealing all that they can get, no otherwise then the *Turcomanni* did in times past among the Grecians, yet are they tollerated by the Imperiall Officers, because they would not loose the deuotion and beneuolence of that people, who without any expences or charges of those estates, and with great brauerie defend those Frontires, euen as the *Cosacchi* do in *Polo-nia*, of whom I will speake more hereafter. But because they are thus tollerated and also protected, contrarie to the couenaunts and agreements that haue

What the Murlacchi are.

Where the Vscocchi doe dwell

Why they are tollerated by the Imperials.

The second part

The Turkes
grecued with
this tolleratio.

haue passed betweene the Imperialistes and the Turkes, and also concerning the sea betweene the Venetians and the Turkes, they haue oftentimes giuen occasion to the Turkes to put hands to their weapons, for the defence of their subiects and of their marchādises, which they carry to *Ancona*, & to Venice: yea & the Venecians theselues haue bin occasioned to do the like, as wel for the maintenāce of the iurisdiction which they pretend to haue in the Adriaticall sea, as also because they would take away al occasions frō the Turkes to come with an Armada, for reuenge of the iniuries and losses, which they haue receiued by the said *Vscocchi*: and finally, because they would not bee troubled with the great Turke, as alwayes they are, when his subiectes are spoyled, by demanding amendes for the same. Moreouer, the *Vscocchi* haue within this little time laid their hands to robbe the Christians also of their marchandizes, and particularly the Venitians, not (as their *Vaiuodes* and *Arambasi* do say) for the losses which they receyued these last yeares, whiles they were besieged in *Segna*, but in truth to enrich themselues, by all the iniurious wayes and meanes they could. Wherevnto they doe the more willingly applie themselues, because they know verie well that they cannot be hindred or at least verie hardly, by the said Venetians, for that they come backed and assisted by the Imperialistes, and can quickly recouer their owne home, as in deede they doe both safely and securely, and whensoever they list.

These *Vscocchi*, may come forth into the Sea, to pray and spoyle by foure wayes: that is to say,
betweene

of the Ottoman.

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betweene *Finme*, *Veghia*, and *Cherso*: betweene these Islandes and *Arbe*, betweene *Arbe* and *Pago*, and betweene *Pago*, and the firme land of *Zara*. This last passage hath somewhat a strait Channell, and may bee off some 100. paces.

How many wayes the *Vscocchi* may come forth to the Sea.

The Venetians do keepe diuerse Gallies, and Barks armed, that walke continually vp and down these Channels to hinder the *Vscocchi*, but by reason of the many disorders, that haue hetherto hapened, there are now but some Gallies onely, or at least accompanied with a few e Barks of small auaille. It were verie necessarie, principally to multiplie the number of Barks, which being backed behind with Gallies, might easily set vppon the *Vscocchi*: and then without all doubt they might make the passage for Marchantes to bee more safe and secure: and so much the better if there were appointed certaine watches, euen in such places as were fittest for that purpose. And although to doe this, the costes and charges would be of some moment, yet they might well bee borne, considering they shall bee vsed but for a small time: for the *Vscocchi* being once leuered and scattered, they cannot so easily vnite themselues together againe: And the Marchants also no doubte, would willingly contribute to the charges, forasmuch as it concerneth their benefite and interest principally. There might also a remedy be had against their Theeueries in another sort, that is, by contributing to the chiefe Captaines of the said *Vscocchi*, a certaine summe of money competent, to the end they should abstaine from doing any damage by Sea, cyther to the Turkes or Christians. For to

How the *Vscocchi* may be hindered from their Theeuings.

R

hinder

The second part

hinder theeues from robbing, especially such as these bee, who are very couragious and hardie, is a thing almost impossible, vnlesse it might bee performed in deed by an open warre. And if any man should thinke, that this course would displease the Turke, for that hee could not but suspect that the Venetians did not effectually employ themselves against the *Vscocchi*, so long as their owne Marchants did passe to and fro in safety: and forasmuch also, as this deliberation and agreement could not be kept so secret, but that it must needs come to the knowledge of the Turkes: I doo thinke verily, that it may be provided for by one of these two meanes: eyther by signifying so much to the great Turke himself whose satisfaction is principally respected, or else by making supplication to the Pope, that in regarde of the publike quiet he would enterpose himselfe to cause payment to bee made to the said chiefe Captaines, with the monies of the state of *Venice*, or of the Marchantes, to bee deliuered to his Holines secretlie. Moreouer the Emperour himselfe might be treated withall, that his Emperiall Maiesty would bee pleased to accept of a conuenient Garrison for the defence and custody of *Segna*, and of those Confines. Or rather, which would be the true remedie indeed, they might by generall consent and agreement bee driued quite out of those Countreyes, considering that they are publike and common theeues, and authors of the greatest troubles in Christendome: yea and so much the rather, for that otherwise they can neuer be diminished, much lesse vtterly extinguished, as well because they are not forbidden or hindered

of the Ottoman.

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red from multiplying themselves, and receiuing new supplies dayly into their troupes: as also and principally because they haue a law, that when the husband dieth, the wife remaineth heire of all, and he that afterwards taketh her to wife, becommeth Lord and Maister of all that she possesseth.

And hitherto let it be sufficient to haue spoken of the *Vscocchi*, and of the meanes how to repress their insolencies: wherein I referre my selfe, as also in all other things which I haue heretofore sayd, and am hereafter to say, to better iudgements then mine owne, and to persons that are better informed, then I am.

§ XVIII.

A Murath then hauing moued warre agaynst the Emperour, *Sigismundo Battori*, the Prince of *Transilvania*, shewed himselfe openly to be agaynst the Turke: a matter verily not expected by him, and little hoped for by those that examined things onely by reason, and according to state: for assuredly it was the worke of the onely prouidence of God. For by this open declaration of this prince, there is arisen without all doubt, the securitie and safetie of Germanie and Italie, with the most notable diuersion of the warre, that euer hath happened hitherto against the proceedings of the Turks, by all the princes Christian that haue fought with them. Whereupon *Sinan* hauing offered himselfe, after the death of *Hassan*, to goe in person for the recouerie of that which was lost, and to restraine the tongues of such

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as

A law among the Vscocchi.

Sigismundo Battori the Transiluanian declareth himselfe an open enemy to the Turke.

The offer of Sinan.

The second part

as did sting and backbite him to his grand Seignieur as being the Authour of this councell, and being gone forth in deed with supreme and soueraigne authoritie, there happened betweene the one side and the other, all those actions, which shall be particularly written by the Historiographers.

And behold, whiles this *Sinan* was at *Belgrado*, the Emperour *Amurath* died the 9. day of Ianuarie in the yeare 1595. and was buried at *Constantinople*, in a *Moschea*, or *Mesquita*, which he had made in his life time, and dedicated to *Bahalzebuf*, that is to say, to the Idole of Flies: for thereupon peradventure such fabrikes or buildings are either corruptly or in mockage called by vs Christians *Moschee*, of *Moscha* which signifieth a Flie. Prince *Mahamet* being returned fro *Magnesia* to *Constantinople*, after the death of his father, by the great carefulnes of *Ferat*, who presently dispatched a Gally vnto him; and being inthronized according to the accustomed Ceremonies of the *Ottomans*, the deliberations and consultations touching the war, were renewed. It was thought at the first, that *Mahamet* was rather inclined to peace then otherwise, hauing found (as it was noted vnto you in the beginning of this discourse) the Citie full of dearth, his subiects not well pleased with this warre, the Bassaes diuided among themselves, and specially the two chiefe of them, *Sinan* and *Ferat*: for the one chalenged the chiefe place, because hee was alwayes most louing towards him, and had disswaded his father from a certain determination that sometimes he had to put him to death, for iealousie of the state, and had euer aduertised him from time

to

of the Ottoman.

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to time, whatsoeuer had happened in the Empire. The other thought that he had purchased great merite, because he had in so short a time brought him into the possession of his Empire, that he had so greatly desired, and that at such a time, as was most important for the estate of all his affaires. In such sort, as for these causes, and for others also which I haue told you before, they iustled lustily one agaynst the other, till in the end they were both brought to their deathes.

Notwithstanding *Mahamet*, after that hee had somewhat settled his household & domestical affaires, was of necessitie constrained to go forth to the war in his owne person: and principally besides the reasons before alledhed, because the Souldiers did not sticke openly to giue him to vnderstand, that to the camp they would go no more without the presence of their great Lord: for that they were greatly discontented with the former Generals, *Sinan* and *Ferat*, who had intreated them verie hardly. Besides that the seedes of ciuill discords, did as yet remaine aliue, in those that were affectionate, some to one of them, and some to the other: And lastly because *Cicala* had promised him assured victorie, if hee would so doe.

§ XIX.

IN this yeare, which was the first yeare of his going forth, hee surprised *Agria*: a place which although it bee not verie strong in regard of the hill, that commandeth it, yet is it of great importance for

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The pretence of *Ferat* to be chiefe vsier.

The death of them both.

The reasons that moued *Mahamet* to go forth to the warre in person.

The taking of *Agria* and the importance thereof.

The death of *Amurath* and his sepulchre.

Why the Turks temples are called *Moschees*.

Mahamet succeedeth.

The pretence of *Sinan* to be chiefe vsier.

The second part

the situation, because the uniting of the Transiluanians forces with the Emperours will be now more difficult, for that the Turkes will continually haunt and beate the way that leadeth from *Toccai* to *Cassovia*: for the other vpper way of *Sacmar*, is much longer. And it is so much of greater importance, because if the walles of *Agria* bee repaired, the Turke may there maintaine a puissaunt armie, betweene both his enemies.

§ XX.

A doubtfull
battaile.

Lewes the 11.
Charles duke
of Burgundie.

The flight of
Mahamet.

IN this yeare also happened the battaile, whereof without doubt it may be said, that either both the armies remained victorious, the Imperiall in the beginning, and the *Ottoman* in the end: or else that neither of them was vanquished by the other, seeing both of them retired vncertain of their owne estates or how the matter had gone with them. And so do we read, that it happened euen alike in the battaile betweene *Lewes* the xi king of Fraunce, and *Charles Duke of Burgoine*: to leaue the examples of the Greekes and Romaines, that are more auncient. Whereupon it was, that both the armies following the aduise and counsaile of *Leo* the Emperour, did rather giue encouragement to their seuerall peoples, with signes of apparant ioy on both sides, then confesse their losses. True it is in deed, that *Mahamet* saw with his owne eyes, that at the beginning his armie was so discomfited and confounded, as greatly fearing his life, he fled to a hill in the sight of *Agria*, accompanied with some few of his *Agalaries*, and there

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there dried and wiped his eyes with a peece of *Mahomet's* apparrell, which for reuerence hee carried about him. True it is that our Men had shewed very great valour: for lesse then 50. thousand Souldiers (so many iumpe, as *Francisco Maria*, Duke of *Vrbino* required, for the extirpation and rooting out of that tyranny,) went to meete with the enemy, fought with him, and discomfited an Armie of 300. thousand persons, euen in the presence and viewe of their Prince, who had gathered the same together, almost out of all the Forces of his Empire. Infomuch as it cannot any way bee doubted, but that if our men had been lesse greedy, more vnitied, better aduised and instructed, and aboue all if they had beene the friends of the Lord of Hostes, they had obtayned one of the most singular victories, that peraduenture was euer obtained by the Cbristians, yea and had taken *Mahamet* prisoner, as *BaiaZet* the first was at *Mount Stella*, by the *Greate Tamur Chan*, that is to say, an Iron Lorde, who is otherwise by some corruptly called *Tamerlan* and *Tamburlan*. In brieffe, to conclude this parte, the Turkish Captaines hauing shewed small knowledge and little valour, and therefore many of them were degraded and put to death, and almost all the common Souldiers hauing likewise shewed great cowardize and astonishment of mind: it is very likelie that their Great Lord and Maister will thinke better of his businesse in the yeare to come, eyther by making peace, or by continuing the warre with lesse daunger. Whereupon, whiles Christendom attendeth and waiteth in great perplexitie of her

Hee dried his
eyes with a
peece Maha-
mets vesture.

Tamerlan,

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doubt

The third part

doubtfull cogitations, peradventure it shall not be vnprofitable, if (as much as shall lie in me) I go about a little further to search out the thoughts and counsels of our enemies, and examine what may or ought to bee done by our Princes Christian to aduance their businesses, to the glory of God and man.

The end of the Second Part.



The third part.

Wherein is treated, That suppose the Turke will growe to Peace, whether it bee good that the Emperour and the Transylvanian make peace with him: with a discourse of such matters, as if the warre continue, the said Princes may worke against him: & what the other Christian Princes may also doe, to meet at all times, with such daungers as may alight vpon Christendome by the Ottoman Forces,



IN this last Part then, I will shewe first, That let it be supposed, *Mahamet* the Emperour of the Turkes, hath a desire to grow to a Peace with the Christian Emperour, and with the Transylvanian,

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nian, whether it be good that those Princes should make peace with him: and secondly I will discourse vpon such matters as the great Turke feareth, if the warre bee continued, may bee wrought against him, as wel by the said Princes, as by the other Princes of Christendome. Wherewith I will also endeavour my selfe to giue you such notice and knowledge of peoples and places, as peradventure this my trauaile shall bee deemed altogether vnprofitable.

§ I.

EVen from the verie beginning of this warre, *Amurath* refused to treat of peace, whereunto he was greatly solicited by the Embassadors of France, and England: to the ende they might haue procured him to make warre by Sea, (as before I noted) against the king of Spaine, of purpose to diuert him from the warre, which the said king continued against their Princes. Their instant motions they reinforced againe after the two ouerthrowes giuen to the two *Hassans*, the one in *Croatia*, and the other in *Hungarie*: and a while after that, the stirres and tumults of almost an open rebellion that were perceiued in *Constantinople*, which after the death of *Amurath*, were much more renewed in *Mahamets* time. They did also most manifestly set before his eyes the difficulties of this present warre, & brought him to a consideration how much more easily the other might be effected. Moreouer, they considered also the open declaration, that the prince of Transylvanian,

Aduice giuen to Mahamet to make peace with the Emperour.

S

uanian

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uania had made, whereby without all doubt the difficulties of the warre might grow greater to the Turks: for that the said Prince being a yong man & valiant, and hauing gained a verie great reputation among diuerse peoples and nations, as well friends, as enemies, he would neuer be drawen backe by any other meanes, but only by necessitie: wherunto it would be the hardest matter in the world to driue him, as long as there was no peace made with the Emperour, which peace could not by all likelihoods be hoped for at that time, considering the common interestes of both the said Princes, the new confederacie concluded betwixt them by their late alliance, the insurrection of the Rascians (of whom I will speake in their due place) the rebellions of the *Vniuersities* of *Moldania* and *Walacchia*, and lastly the feare which all the Turkes had, least the Transiluanian should be the man, that was to bring low, or peradventure quite to ouerthrow the vnmearsurable hugeness of the Turkish Empire. Insomuch as *Mahamet* giuing eare to the foresaid reasons, & fearing aboue all thinges to prouoke and raise against himselfe a league and confederacie of the Christian Princes, (a matter greatly feared of all the *Ottoman* Princes) it seemed as well by the answer which hee caused to be giuen to the said Agents, as also by that which he went about to worke, that hee had a minde not altogether alienated or estranged from peace, and so much the rather, for that he permitted the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia* to negotiate and treat with the Agents of the Emperour, of the Transiluanian, and of the *Walacchian*.

The Turkes feare the Transiluanian.

Mahamet contented that peace betwixt of,

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§ II.

Howbeit, the truer opinion was, that this *Mahamet* was encouraged to warre, yea neuer a whit lesse then his father *Amurath* was, especially after the ouerthrow which he receiued in *Croatia*, to recouer the reputation that hee had lost: for so was it the opinion of the olde Archduke *Ferdinando*, that it would come to passe. But in deede it was thought, that he rather negotiated the peace (besides those reasons that are aboue specified) as well to follow the vse of all warres, and specially of the *Ottomans*, as also by that meanes to make vs Christians, the more negligent and carelesse in our resolutions and preparations: hoping aboue all other things, that we while peace was intreating, would walke more fearefully and warily in annoying him, least we should thereby prouoke him further: Euen as it fell out (iust) to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, who for none other respect forbare to surprise and reduce to his subiection *Alba-Regale*, but onely because he would not anger *Soliman*, with whom he was then in treatie of peace: which although it was indeed concluded, yet was it afterwards broken with the great losse of the said Emperour.

But let vs suppose, that *Mahamet* either desired at that time to make peace in good earnest, or at least desireth it now at this time, it is fit and conuenient to consider verie well, whether in regard of the present state of our affaires, we on our behalves ought to make peace with him, I will report the principall

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points

Mahamet resolved to continue warre. The preface of *Ferdinando*. Why the Turkes negotiate peace.

Why Maximilian the 2. did not surprise *Alba-Regale*, when he might.

points of consideration.

The third part

points, whereupon in mine opinion this whole businesse, and the resolution of so important a matter dependeth. Of which poynts some doe belong to the Emperour, and to the Transiluanian, and some others to the honour and interest of all Christendome: leauing the same notwithstanding to the iudgement of other men.

§ III.

Conditions of peace, which the Turke will looke for.

A law of the Turkes not to restore any thing once gotten.

George Wocouich Disputant of Seruia, father in law to Amurath the second.

THE first thing to be considered is, that we may probably beleue the Turke will neuer make peace, vnlesse on the one side the Emperour, and the Transiluanian doe make restitution vnto him of all his places which they haue surprised: and on the other side, he must remaine free and vnbound from making any restitution, especially of any thing that is of moment. For the Turkes holde it for an inuio-
lable law, that the ground which is once troden with the feet of their horses, & takē into possession, ought neuer to be restored: & specially if they haue built any *Meschites*, or Temples therein, or else when the places which they haue gotten, be conuenient for them, and for their aduantage. And although we do read that *Amurath* the second, after he had spoyle and depriued the *Despote*, *George Wocouiche* of *Seruia*, yet hee restored him to his estate which he had lost: yet ye must vnderstand that *Amurath* did so, because hee was desirous to make peace with the Hungarians, whose valour hee greatly feared. Besides that he was also his father in law, because he had a daughter of his to his wife, although
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hee were of the Greeke Religion. One of those finnes, for which it hath pleased God to spoile and depriue many Rulers of those Countries, euen of their States and Liberties, as it happened to the said *George* himselfe, after the last ouerrthrow of *Laodislaus*: whereupon in their Sclauoyne songes, hee is to this day called *Heuieruish*, that is to say an Infidel. True it is also, that *Cephalonia* the Island, belonging sometimes to the Turke, is now in the possession of the State of Venice, after it was conquered by the helpe of *Consaluo di Cordua*, called the Grand Capitaine, cyther because the Turke thinketh it is a matter of no moment, or els that it is not very easie to be recovered. So *Selim* in the last peace that he made with Venice, was contented that there should be restored to *Giacomo Soranzo* Commissioner for that State, by *Ferat Bey*, (he that of late yeares dyed *Bassa* of *Buda*,) thirteene villages that were by the bordering Turkes, surprised in that warre, in the territorie of *Zara*: foureteene more in the territory of *Sebenico*, and somewhat also in the territorie of *Spalato*: For by that meane hee thought he should bee the better assured of the breach and dissoluing of that League, whereof at the last hee was greatlie afayed.

The Restitution, which wee may feare, that *Mahamet* looketh to haue from the Emperour will be in *Croatia*, of the contentious Fort of *Petrina*, and of all that which hee hath surprised vpon the way of *Canisa*, beyond the riuer *Draua*, euen as farre as *Baboz*, which is neare vnto *Zighet* his Frontier. In the lower *Hungarie* hee looketh for the restitution

George Wocouich - searmed an Infidell because he married his daughter to the Turke.

Cephalonia recovered by the Venetians.

Selim restored diuerse places to Giacomo Soranzo, for the behoofe of Venice.

What restitution Mahamet looketh for of the Emperour

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of *Strigonia*, and *Vicegrado*: and in vpper *Hungarie* of *Vaccia*, *Filec* and *Nouigrad*. And it may be moreouer, that hee will challenge the repaying of the burnt walles of *Attuan*, or some encrease of Tribute, (as hee calleth it,) for his expenses in the warre.

What restitution hee looketh for from the Transylvanian.

Of the Prince of *Transylvania*, hee will challenge the restitution of *Walacchia*, and require that hee deuest and depriue himselfe of all pretenses and tytles, which hee sayeth hee hath thereunto. Moreouer that hee restore vnto him *Lippa*, which is of great importance to *Transylvania*, because it is in his confines, and within the Bassanate of *Temesuar* vpon the riuer *Marisso*: And finally, that the Sangiack-shippes of *Iapona* and *Bezhcherech* with diuers other places of lesse name which hee had burned may be repayed, or els that hee may be well payed for the: besides some other giftes and yearely augmentations, which he looketh for.

What places the Turke for his part will neuer restore.

What a Bano is.

On the other side, yee may almost be assured that there will neuer bee gotten of Mahamet the Countrey of *Tureuopolie*, which is betweene *Sana* and *Cupa*, now vnder the iurisdiction of the *Bano*: *Bani* are certaine *Gouernors* of *Provinces*, but are of lesse authoritie then the *Beglerbyes*, though some haue written otherwise. Neither shall ye euer get of him *Biz*, or *Bicagi*, a place of some importance, because it is more towarde the Sea coast, neare to the territorie of the Venetians to come to *Nouigrad*: nor in *Hungarie* on this side of the *Danowe*, *Vesprino*, and *Giauarino*, with the Castles neare adioyning, and beyond the *Danow Agria*, the last place that he hath taken.

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I haue thought good to set downe the said places by their particular names, to the ende that by knowing what matters of greatest moment and importance are in the possession of either side, my narration and discourse may proue the plainer.

§ IIII.

THE second thing to be considered is this: if the Turke refuse to make peace ioyntly with the Emperour and the Transiluanian together, whether these Princes ought to agree to a peace the one without the other. Certaine it is, that to doe it seuerally and disioyned, would bee to the great daunger of him that is the weaker, or of him that is excluded out of the peace, and also it would bee agaynst the confederacie, against the couenants and conditions wherunto they haue sworne, and against the promises, which they haue both made to the Pope. Moreouer, who can doubt but that it would also bee against all law and dutie of gratitude on the Emperours behalfe, in regarde of the singular benefite, which hee hath receyued by this open declaration that the Transiluanian hath made against the Turke? and on the Transiluanians part, would it not bee agaynst the obseruation and keeping of his worde, which he professeth to be inuiolable, and quite contrarie to that which he hath hitherto refused to doe, although he hath beene therunto required, both by the last, and also by this now present Emperour of the Turkes, with most ample and large conditions of benefite, of honorable tytles, and of perpetuall protec-

what danger if both Emperour and Transiluanian do not ioyne together to make peace with the Turke

Ingratitude in the Emperour,

Breach of faith in the Transiluanian.

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protection? Which if the Emperour *Ferdinando* had regarded, most certaine it is, that little lesse then all Hungarie had beene at this day in the possession of our enemies.

No faith in Infidels,

Moreouer, who can euer promise to himselfe any faith in an Infidell, without feare, that he will not breake the bonds of all lawfull peace at his pleasure? considering that princes, & specially the barbarous Princes neuer wanted plausible and likely pretences so to do, as the Venerians do know verie well by the faith and promise, that *Selim* did breake with them, in the year 1570. besides almost an infinite number of examples, that might be alledged thereof. Which point of breach of faith, although in truth no prince can in reason feare, yet certaine it is, that the Transiluanian Prince hath an exceeding great cause to feare it, because the *Ottoman* house thinketh, that from him onely it hath receiued all the iniuries and al the losses of this present warre, and that by his onely Rebellion (for so doe the Turkes call this his iust and lawfull desire, which he hath to withdraw himselfe from the Turkish soueraigntie) all their designements and complots haue beene interrupted and frustrated, and the course of their hoped victories vtterly stopp'd: and so much the rather ought he to feare it, for that if the whole tide and force of the warre should come vpon him alone, hardly could he defend himselfe from so mightie an enemy, if he should not be ayded and succoured, neither by the Polacke, nor by the Emperour: for of himselfe alone he is but a poore and a weake Prince. And although it may seeme, that he hath a state fortified by nature,

The Transiluanian is to feare breach of faith in the Turke.

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nature, and therefore might peraduenture be defended for some time, yet in the ende he should of necessitie be constrained, either willingly or by force to yeeld to that power, which is now growne to be so terrible and fearefull to the whole worlde both for number of people, and also for treasure, and in respect of all manner of furniture for warre, almost inuincible.

Neither should the Emperour be free from feare in this point, if the Transiluanian should be at peace with the Turke: because it would be enough for the *Ottoman* Emperour onely to haue these princes disarmed for a time. For hee knoweth verie well with how great difficulty Souldiers are brought together againe vnder their ensignes, after that they are once returned home: and especially how hard it is for the Emperour, who is constrained to make warre rather with auxiliarie Souldiers, then with his owne, who also cannot come to succour him without some time, and the meeting together of circuites and dietes, which are to be holden, before any thing can be done.

The Transiluanian is likewise to feare the same

And thus vpon these reasons that haue beene set downe, it may be concluded verie resolutely, that to make peace on this fashion, would not onely not be helpfull to the two Princes, but also much more dangerous and pernicious to both their estates, for that the enemy may shortly after take vp armes againe, and renewe the warre with greater aduantage, whensoever hee shall thinke it fit and conuenient for him.

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s V.

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§ V.

Where it is
likely the Turk
will bend his
forces next.

THE third and last consideration, which appertaineth not so much to the aforesaid Princes, but to all Christendome together, is, that suppose the Turk do make peace, and keepe it for a while, where may we thinke in reason, that hee will hereafter direct his arrowes? For we haue established this for a most certaine ground and foundation, that the *Ottoman* Empire doth keepe her Subiects alwayes occupied and employed in new warres, against some state or other, as hauing had her originall and maintenance by force and armes.

Not against
the king of
Persia.

Of truth it is not to be thought, that he will renew the warre against the King of Persia, at the least as yet, and not being prouoked thereunto: because the Souldiers of Europe, who are the sinewes and strength of his Armies, doe abhorre to go thither, by reason of the length of the iourney, the want of vittails, the roughnesse of the wayes, and the braue valour of the Persians. And so much the lesse is it likely that he will renew the warre there, because it is but a while agoe since hee made peace with that king, and for that he hath not as yet fullie established the foundations of his new Fortresses. And to bee briefe, the Persian indeed wanteth no Souldiers for there are three sortes of Souldiers that goe to warre vnder him: The *Turcomanni*, who are vnto him as Feudataries be with vs, and hold their landes of him. The *Corizzi*, or *Coridschi*, who are stipendaries and waged by him: and *Auxiliaries*, who are such as come to ayd and succour him, and name-
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ly, the Armenians, the Georgians, and others all verie valiant and hardie, especially those that goe to warre on horsebacke, as all of them for the most part doe, which is the greatest imperfection in the Persian Armies.

§ VI.

N^{either} is it to be thought, that hee will moue warre in *Africa*, against *Mulei Ameth* the king of *Fez* and *Marocco*, whom the Moores call the *Siriffo*, which signifyeth as much with the Turkes, as the title of Sultan, vz. King and Lorde. For in so doing, hee shall get but little, and much hee may loose, besides that, hee shall be somewhat too farre from home. Moreouer *Mulei Ameth*, who was the Brother of *Abdala* and of *Mahamet*, is a man very hardy and warlike: insomuch as although to diuert the suspition, which his Brother *Abdala* had conceiued against him, whiles he reigned, and was King, hee shewed himselfe euen for all the worlde as the *Ottoman Mahamet* did, to auoide the wrath and displeasure of his Father, altogether geuen to pleasures and sensualitie, yet did hee afterwarde conquer the Kingdome of *Gago*, towardes *Guiney*, from whence there is brought the most fine & pure gold xxiiii. Caractes: and holdeth in possession al that parte of the Countrey, which is more then a hundred dayes iourney from the Ocean sea, euen aboute *Tripoli*.

Nor against
the king of
Fez and Maroc
co.
The Siriffo of
Africa.

The kingdom
of Gago.
The finest
gold.

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Nor

The third part

§ VII.

NOr against the Isle of *Malta*, because (as *A-murath* was aduised by *Sinan Cicala*, whilest he was Generall of the Sea) it would turne to the smal credite and reputation of the Ottoman Empire, to imploy so huge Forces against so small an Island, & so much the rather, because it might peraduenture fall out, that hee should neuer obtaine the possession thereof, or at least it would bee verie hard to get it, as well in regard that it is now much better fortified and strengthened then it was in the dayes of *Soliman*: as also because it would bee very courageously defended by the auncient brauery of those most valiant knightes, and sooner relieved and succoured by the Christian Princes, who are now well taught and instructed thereto by their former experience.

§ VIII.

NOr yet against *Spain*, vpon a vaine hope, that the *Moores* which are there, would make an insurrection and rebell against the King: For it is not true (as some thinke) that they are so readie to put in execution, as indeed they are all confederated to desire inuolution, yea so much the lesse may the Turke hope for any such insurrection, for that the said *Morelcoes* are diuided in many seuerall places, which places are also verie open and without strength: they are also vnarmed, and a people

of

of the Ottoman.

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of no certaine faith: and therefore in such a case they will not be ouer-hastie, and specially for feare of loosing their wealth and riches.

As concerning the *Portugals* and the *Aragonians*, of whom also according to the opinion of the *Bassas*, it seemed that the King Catholike might stand in some feare: the truth is, that they are not onely humbled by a tollerable kinde of inforcement, but euen of their owne selues they haue applied and settled their mindes to an honest necessitie. Moreouer, those that haue good intelligence in matters of state, doe knowe full well, that to lend the eare to the aduices and encouragement of Outlawes and discontented persons, is a verie vaine thing, and oftentimes proueth verie daungerous.

Besides it is verie likely and credible, that the Turke will verie well bethinke himselfe, before hee will rashly run to prouoke and stirre vp the greatest king in the world against him, notwithstanding that hee bee greatly busied and occupied in other wars: as wel for that if he should be molested by the Ottoman forces, he may very easily conclude a peace, or at least suspension from warres with his enemies, as also because he is so mightie a Prince, that he may wel quite himselfe against the Turks, especially with his Armada, and Fleete of ships, which without encrease of any expences vnto him, he may cause euery yeare in good time to scour the Ottoman Seas. For out of all doubt, he is not inferiour to the Turk, neither in forces, nor in greatnesse of Empire. Considering that the Turkish Empire (if notwithstanding it be lawfull to call that state an Empire, which

Poningsals & Aragonians.

The Turke's Empire.

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is

Nor against the Isle of Malta.

Nor against Spain. Insurrection of the Morelcoes.

The third part

is vnduly vsurped and kept from the lawfull Emperours) is in deede verie huge and great, for that in *Asia* it possesseth all that is betweene the greater Sea, and the Ocean of *Arabia* and *Persia*: and from the Caspian Sea, and the riuer *Araxis*, and the other more Easterly confines of the Kingdome of *Persia*, euen vntill the Mediterraneall Coastes of the *Hellepont* as farre as *Nilus*. And in *Africa*, all the coast of *Nilus*, till ye come beyond *Algieri*, and also a great part within the land of this prouince, where it bordereth vpon *Egypt*, and the red Sea. And in *Europe*, all that Countrey which is from *Buda* euen to *Constantinople*, and betweene the riuer *Niestro*, and the *Danow*, and the *Ægean* Sea, and the *Adriatike*, with all the coast of the greater Sea, as farre as *Tana*. Besides all the Islandes of *Asia*, and the greatest part of the Islandes of *Greece*. And yet notwithstanding, the Empire of the most potent king of *Spain* is nothing inferiour vnto it, for it stretcheth her power and iurisdiction in the West, it enlargeth the confines of her most mightie estate in the East, and passing ouer the new world, and arriuing euen to the Islandes of the *Moluccaes*, the vttermost part of the Orientall Islandes it reacheth (like a true Monarchie indeede) ouer all those maritimall or Sea-parts as farre as the straite of *Gibraltar*.

Neither truly is it likely (as some thinke) that he will moue warre against the *Polackes*, or against the *Tartarians*, or against the *Moscouites*.

§ IX.

Not against the *Polackes*, because they are (as a man may say) in the verie bowels of the Turkish estate

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estate. They are verie wel armed both with men and horse: and if they doe possesse *Moldavia*, and *Walachia* (as easily they may doe) and then passe ouer the *Danow* into *Bulgaria*, they may fortifie the banks of *Danow*, as the Romans did, and hardily pierce with their Armes, euen into *Constantinople*, which is the verie heart of his Empire, and so vtterly ruinate and destroy all his Countrey, with the same brauerie and valour which the *Polackes* haue sundry times shewed when they warred with the *Turkes*.

§ X.

Not against the *Tartarians*, because they are of the selfe same Religion with him, and also his confederates: with whom if he should warre, hee should gaine eirher little or nothing of them, because they are but poore, and for the most liue abroad in the fieldes, so that whensoever they shall perceiue the approach of their enemy, they may easily retire themselues, and when the enemy is departed, recouer that which was lost. And finally, if the *Turke* shall keepe and maintaine them as his friends, he may reape many and great seruices at their hands, whereas on the contrarie, if hee hold them his enemies, they may worke him much harme.

§ XI.

And lastly, not against the *Moscouites*, because they dwell among frozen Ices, and fennie Marishes, in a barren Countrey, farre distant and diuided.

In Asia.

In Africa.

In Europe.

In Islands.

The Empire of the King of Spaine.

Nor against Polonia.

Nor against Tartaria.

Nor yet against Moscouia.

The third part

diuided from all his estates: whose Prince is continually enuironed and garded with a great number of Horsemen and Footemen, who are also very well trained and exercised in managing and handling the Arcubuse.

But either a-
gainst Venice
or against all
Italie.

If then it be a matter in reason not to be feared, that though he should conclude a peace, he would moue warre against any of these above mentioned, yet of a certaintie we may greatly feare, that he will resolve to bend his forces, either against the state of Venice, or against all Italie.

§ XII.

If against Ve-
nice: the what
trouble to
Christendome

By example
of Grecia.

IF against the state of Venice: in verie truth, the troubles of Christendome, would then be greater then now they are, because the nearer the danger would thereby be vnto Italie, and vnto the verie state of Religion, so much the more considerable and troublefom would it be. The Princes of Greece because they did not succour the princes that were their next neighbours, who were exposed and open to the *Ottoman* forces, all of them wholly lost their estates: God himselfe in the meane while permitting the same to be effected, not onely for their riot and voluptuousnesse, and for the ciuill discords that were among them, but also yea and much more for the Schisme, which the Greekes had made in the holy Church, so that first by the Gotthes, then by the Bulgarians, afterwarde by the Sarracens, and last of all by the Turkes, they were brought to that lamentable miserie wherein now they are: euen as Pope *Nicholas* the first foretold, when he writ to the Emperour

of the Ottoman.

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Emperour *Constantine*, surnamed the Dragon, as *Gennadius* the Patriarke of *Constantinople* hath obserued, and I in another place haue touched more at large. Cardinall *Bessarion* writing to the Princes of *Italie*, sayeth, that because they would not in time relieue *Constantinople*, onely with 50. thousand Crownes, they were the cause and chiefe occasion, why the Turkes afterwarde, hauing gotten possession thereof, with a continuall course of perpetuall victories, subdued *Trabisonda*, *Sinope*, the Islande of *Metelino*, (i. *Mitylene*,) *La Morea*, *Caramania*, and the Countries adioyning, *Bossina*, *Bulgaria*, the Lower *Hungarie*, *Epirus*, and a great part of *Dalmatia*, of *Albania*, and of *sclauonia*, and lastly of the Island of *Negroponte*.

And of Con-
stantinople.

But forasmuch as the worlde ringeth to this day with the wordes, which the Great Pope *Vrbane* vitered, when in Cleremount of *Aluernia*, he mooued and encouraged the Christian Princes to the glorious conquest of *Ierusalem*, which is called euen by the Turkes *Cuzzimu Barec*, that is to say, The famous and holy place, for the reuerence which they beare to the Sepulchre of our Lord, & in that respect is visited (as *Bethlehem* likewise is,) by their *Chazilarii*, that is to say, their Pilgrimes, in their returne from *Mecha*: And forasmuch also, as euery man dooth well know the godly and wonderfull entreatie and perswasion made to the saide Christian Princes, by *Petrus Heremita*, and the Sermons of the blessed Fryer *Iohn Capestrano*, who had already gathered together 40. thousande signed and marked with the Crosse, to goe against

Pope Vrbane's
exhortation to
moue christen
dome to the
recouery of
Ierusalem.

Petrus Heremita.
Iohn Capestrano.
no.

The third part

the Turkes, euen in the very selfe same countreyes where now the warre is : And lastly, forasmuch as besides the holy and very zealous exhortations of many Popes, and other holy Men, (whereof there is great store to bee founde in the Councils, and ecclesiastical Hystories) there resoundeth now in our time ouer all Christendome, the liuely voyce of the now liuing Pope Clement, who like another Iacob, watching day and night, without any tiring or wearinesse, for the seruice and maintenance of Labans sheepe, that is to say, of the faithfull flocke of Iesus Christ, cryeth out with a loude voyce, by his holie prayers and deuoute teares to the Lord for mercie towards our saluation and safegard : It shal bee sufficient at this present, briefly to recount the substance of those matters, which pope Pius the second, (euen the same that wrote a long letter to Mahamet the second Emperour of the Turkes to conuert him vnto the Catholike Faith) being full of the holy Ghost, vttered at the Councell of Mantua, in presence of the Christian Princes, after hee had bewayled the ruine of the Greeke Empire, and of other kingdomes in Christendome, that were fallen into the Turkes power, vz.

Surely, it would bee a verie righteous and religious matter, O yee most generous and Noble Princes of Christendome, if once at the last yee would waken your selues, & enter into an earnest cogitation, not to suffer those poore & dismayed reliques of Christians, vntillie to bee lost, that are forgone into the most cruell rage of the Barbarians, which of you, in good sooth doeth not clearely and manifestly see the common and imminent daunger, that hangeth

Pope Clement
the eight.

The substance
of the speech
of Pius the se-
cond in the
Councell of
Mantua.

of the Ottoman.

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geth ouer our heades: Andrinopolis, and Nicopolis, (because I will not at this time remember so many other most goodly and rich Countreies, which most vniustly that most cruell and outrageous Tyrant doth now possesse) were of no long time heretofore, Cities further distant, then were those Christians that haue bene lately taken, and are now most cruelly and miserably tormented by our enemies. Oh that you might bee moued, yee religious and godly Princes, with the incomparable bond and obligation, wherein yee are bound to Christ our Lord, who hath not onely freed and deliuered you from the iawes of the auncient Serpent, but also hath appointed you to be Princes of his people, to the end that like watchfull and charitable Pastors ye should courageously keepe the same from the mouth of the Wolfe. The blessed God hath put into your handes the Scepter, and the sworde, because it should bee your care, as well by doing iustice, and shewing mercie to maintaine his people in peace, as also by warre to deliuer those that are vnduly and vniustly oppressed. Let your perticular interestes cease, when the Interestes of God commeth in place. Let the discourses of mans wit giue place to the cause of God. Nay rather, euen your owne pecutiar and proper interestes, and humane respects also do perswade you of themselves to take weapons into your hands, and to repress and daunt the pride of this most cruell and fierce wilde beast, who like a Lion raungeth about continually, ouer all the Champeine and field of Christendome, greedily to deuoure some part either of our owne Countreies, or of our neighbours. Alas, let vs learne by other mens expences and losses. Let vs quench the fire of our brethren, least we burne vp our selues also with them : Let vs in time meete with this great tide, that like a headlong streame is like shortly to surround all our Countreys. Vp ye

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generous

The third part

generous & noble champions of Christ, resolute courageously with your selues (to the end that our age be not thought to be lesse glorious then former times) in some sort to imitate & fellow Godfrey, Baldwyn, Boemound, and those other famous Argonautes, who to recouer out of the prophane handes of the enemies of holy fayth, the sacred Sepulchre of our Redeemer sold their owne proper goodes, abandoned their landes and houses, passed over the Seas, and for a long time endured exceeding great trauailes and troubles, because they thought that they could not better employ their treasures, ther weapons, and their valour, then in so holy and laudable an enterprise, who then will bee the first man that will take the Crosse, and giue example to others? Who will be he, that will be Captaine and guide herein? Where be the Souldiers of Christ, that will follow this glorious standard and Ensinge? And finally who will shew himselfe so impious, that he will not lay aside all private inueries and hatreds, for the common safetie?

But hereof let it be inough for me to haue spoken, being carried therunto out of my determinate discourse and narration, by a iust zeale that I beare towards the honour of God, and the saluation of so many soules, which are redeemed by the bloud of Christ, and liue at this day in the most miserable thraldome and slauerie of the Ottoman Empire.

And therefore if the great Turke should moue warre agaynst the Common-wealth of Venice: (which God forbid, because the saide estate of the Venetians doth deserue to bee kept and preferued a perpetuall Virgin through all ages, as well for the comfort of her subiects, for the ornament of the worlde, and for the defence of Christen-

Why Venice should bee re-
lieued.

of the Ottoman.

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Christendome, as also for the pietie thereof, and for the excellent manner of gouernment therein vsed) the daunger would be of great importaunce, and it would then bee verie necessarie (if the loue of my Countrie doe not deceiue mee:) that all the princes of Christendome should earnestly and thoroughly aduise themselves, how to maintaine it in her former estate, so that no notable damage may light vpon it: and so much the rather, for that enioying her lawfull and auncient libertie and neutralitie, with her publicke consultation it doth neuer offend any Prince in the world. And aboue all the rest, it behoueth the king Catholike so to doe, either by combining himselfe with the Venetians, or by succouring them otherwise: as well because it is verie likely, that the Turke will not imploy his forces, onely for the subduing of the Venetian estate: but thereby to haue a more easie way to attempt Italie, wherof the crowne of Spaine dooth possesse the fairest and goodliest partes: as also because the other Princes are not peraduenture altogither sufficient by Sea to vanquish the enemy with any securitie, vlesse they shall helpe one another with monies, with vittails, with Souldiers, & specially with Gally-flaues, and Marriners, which certainly is a matter very considerable: For without doubt the true way & means viterly to defeate and destroy the enemy, will bee to vanquish him by Sea, especially in these times, wherein hee hath not an Armada of any account, and is also greatly destitute of Marriners, and men of commaund, that are skilful and courageous in that profession. Moreouer, the Turkes do abhorre these

Specially by
the king of
Spaine.

The true way
to ouerthrow
the Turke, is
by sea.

The third part

battailes by Sea, both because they are most cruell and daungerous, and also for that in such fights they are alwayes discomfited and ouerthrowne, and doe know full well, that afterwarde they shall bee the more easly vanquished and ouercome by land. So *Euagoras* of Cyprus, and *Conon* of Athens counselled the kings of *Persia* to doe against the *Lacedemonians*. So *Augustus* hauing defeated *Marcus Antonius* by Sea, subdued also his olde and victorious armie consistiing of eightie thousand footemen, and two & twentie thousand horsemen, without any fight. The like was done by *Roger* the Calabrian, Admiral to the king of *Aragon*, who notwithstanding that his king was vpon the land ouerthrowne by the king of *France*, yet assaulting the French Armada by Sea, discomfited the same, recovered that which was lost, and carried away the frutes of both the victories. And who knoweth not, what might haue beene done, after the Turkish fleet was disperfed and ouerthrowne in the yeare, 1571. And when it ranne away of it selfe in 1572. If at the first occasion and oportunitie that was then so happily offered, there had beene made a choise of the best Gallies, to haue gone presently and met with the enemy in the *Archipelago*, and in *Morea*, and euen as farre as *Cyprus*: and if in the second good oportunitie we had followed the happie and iudicious courage of *Soranzo*, the generall Prouidatorie of *Venice*?

The strength
and power of
Venice.

Verie true it is, that the state of *Venice* is at this day become so potent and mightie, not onely in respect of the great store of golde which it hath gathered in this long peace, and of the debts payed, where.

of the Ottoman.

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whereunto it had runne in the last warre, and somewhat before that time: but also in regarde of the manie Gallies, munitions, and other preparations for warre, which it hath prouided in this time: that if occasion so fall out, it will peraduenture bee well able to defend it selfe of it owne selfe: and specially, if it would resolue it selfe at such time, as it dooth little feare the enemy, to bee the first that should assault and strike him, yea and to doe it indeed, (as *Alcibiades* was wont to say to the Athenians) by sending forth a mightie Armada to annoy him, and vpon a sodaine to surprise some of those places, which I will name in the end of this thirde Parte. Moreouer it hath also at this present so wel fortified her estate, that in all reason it neede not greatly doubt the conceites and designementes of the Ottoman. *Corfu*, *Cathara* and *Zara* are among other Fortes esteemed to bee inexpugnable, and so much the rather, for that by reason of their moderate and reasonable distance from *Venice*, they may easly bee succoured and relieued, and being as it were the keyes of the Adriatique Sea, they may also hinder the entrance of the enemy, or enforce him of necessitie to returne backe with all speed, least hee remayne entangle d and caught in the nette. The Isle of *Candie* is likewise so wel prouided for defence and is thought to bee so strongly guarded with Garrisons and Munition, as it cannot bee attempted by the Turke, without incurring his great hazard and daunger, yea and so much the more, for that if the enemy shoulde endeaour to disbarke his people there, one great part of the Island hauing no

Corfu.
Catharo.
Zara

Candie.

The third part

hauens or Harbours, is defended by nature it self & the other part may be so well kept both by the valour of forrain souldiers, and also by the braue manhood of the Countrey-inhabitanes, who are no lesse tender and carefull of their owne wel-fate, then faithfull to their prince (prouided alwayes that they bee by iust proportion and good aduise distributed and deuised, some for the defence of the Hauens, and some for the defence of the shore,) that hee shall neuer bee able to disbarke there, or if hee doe, it will bee to his great losse. In which accident it will bee an easie matter to disperse the Reliques of the enemies armie, partly because they can very hardly bee succoured by the Turke, in regarde of the farre distance of his Countrey and States: and partly because his Fleete of Shippes cannot well brooke those Seas, eyther without daunger of breaking and rending in pieces, or fighting with the Venetian Armada. Lastly, the Forte of *Palma*, which is also built by the Venetian Common wealth, with as religious as iudicious an aduisement, will not onely serue (if it please GOD) at all times for a secure and safe defence against the enemy, if hee shoulde bee so bolde as to trouble *Istria*, and to passe to *Friuli*, but it will also bee a continuall and most necessarie Bulwarke, against all the Barbarians, which may attempte to come and annoy *Italie*. And thus much let bee saide touching the State of *Venice*.

Now touching Italie, forasmuch as I haue already heretofore touched the reasons, which might one day

If against all
Italie, then
which way
the Turk may
come thither

move

of the Ottoman.

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move the Ottoman to thinke of such a course, I will in this place set downe the most principall wayes, whereby he may come thither, and that to answer to such persons as doe thinke the same not onely to be a verie difficult matter, but almost altogether impossible.

§ XIII.

THE Turke hath two wayes, whereby he may passe from his owne Countreys and States into Italy by land: one is (and that is the better way for the ease of his horsemen) by departing from *Belgrado* through the higher way, which is betwene the riuers of *Draua* and *Sana*: the other on this side of the *Sana*. Both of these wayes doe meete at *Lubiana*, called by the Dutche *Luback*, and in olde time *Nauporto*, a Countrey of great abundance in all things, and most fit to bee (as it were) the seate of the warre. The Citie it selfe is verie easie to bee surpris'd. From hence they may goe to *Goritia*, or rather by *Pinca* to passe by the *Carfe* about *Mont-falcon*: both these wayes likewise doe meete at *Lisonzao*, which the Turkes call *Ague-bianche*, or White waters, a riuer that is verie memorable for the battaile of *Theodorico* king of the Gothes, and of *Odoacre* king of the *Hernuli*, and also for the last approach of the Turkes, when they arriued euen as farre as *San-Cassano* in *Mesco* vpon the *Campardo*, burning and spoyling all the Countrey with most barbarous crueltie. That way which leadeth to *Goritia*, is for vitaille and for horse, more commodious then this of *Carfe*: which for all that, though it be verie sto-

Two waies for
the Turke to
passe into Ita-
lie by land.

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The third part

nie and rockie, and also that in the *Piua* there bee some wooddes and straits, not so easie to be passed, being neare to *Scelesnytabor*, which is a holde kept by a few Clownes, yet notwithstanding the saide way is not vnpassible for horses, and was made by *Attila*, when he came to *Trieſte*, and passed on to *Aquileia*. And hereupon it came that *Theodorico*, after he was become the Lord and conquerour of Italie, was moued in this way to fortifie *Mont-falcon*: euen as *Gradisca*, a little while before, was erected and builded in the other way by *Odoacre*, when hee lorded it in Italie. A fortresse which was afterwarde surprisid by the same *Theodorico*, when he was sent against *Odoacre*, by *Zeno* the Emperour, and which was also erected for the selfe same ende and purpose, for which the Seignieurie of Venice haue now builded *Palma* against the Turkes.

The Turkish Armies, departing from *Constantinople*, without comming to *Mandor-Alba*, or *Alba-Graca*, (which is called *Belgrado*, and in times past *Taurono*) may also come into one of these wayes, by passing through the townes of *Nis*, and *Precup*, where are certaine straites on this side of *Sophia*, and leauing *Belgrado* on the right hand: or else without touching *Sophia* to meete in any sort at *Nowibazar*, and from thence through the Dukedome of *Herzegouina* in *Basna*, at *Bagnaluca*, to meete at the last euen in the high way, a little more then two dayes iourneyes distant from the territorie of Venice, and very neere vnto those places, where somtimes the Turkes made their musters when they came into Italy. This is a verie plaine and euen way, fit also for carriages, and

Why Theodorico builded Montfalcon.

And Odoacre Gradisca.

And the Venetians, Palma.

Another way for the Turke to come into Italie.

of the Ottoman.

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and for conueying of stufte and artillarie. Wherevpon *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that by the same way *Gallus* the brother of *Iulian* was carried in a Chariot from *Betouia* to *Pola*.

§ XIII,

Moreouer, the Turke, to the ende hee might the more grieuously vex and trouble Italie, may at one and the selfe same time, sende an Armie by land into one part of it, and an Armada by Sea into another. So thought the other *Mahamet* to haue done, & this Turke also that now is, was there unto perswaded the last yeare by *Sinan*, of purpose by that meanes the rather to diuert the king of Spaine, and the State of Venice, that is to say, by his fleet troubleing and molesting the Adriatike Sea, euen iust in the same sort as is afore declared, and his armie assailing the coasts of Sicilie and Naples, or of a *Calabria* and *Puglia*, replenishing all those quarters with feare and domnage. There is yet fresh in memorie the surprising of *Otranto* by the Turkes, in the dayes of the other *Mahamet*, and the fearefull fright which the Court of Rome did sometimes take at the arriual of the Ottoman naue, in the Tyrrhene sea. For costing all along Italie with the land windes, the Easterne winde, the South-East winde, and the South winde, and comming out of Barbarie with a North-east winde, and a Westerne winde, hee may most easily ouerrunne all, euen as farre as *Ciuita Vecchia*. Besides that it is well knowne what the Turkes haue done diuers times at *Angusta*, at *Cotrone*,
Examples of Augusto, Reggio, & Mount Sant-Angelo.

X 2

The third part

Cotronc, at Reggio, and in more auncient times what the Saracens did at Mount Gargano, now called *Sant-Angelo*.

I know verie well how hard a matter it will be for the Turkes to put in execution those Designements, which I haue touched before to that purpose in the second Part of this Discourse: for that (to be brieft) this most noble Province of Italie, being the Garden and pleasure of the world, is without all doubt so well fortified both by Nature and Art: so full of Gold, and people, and vittails also: (especially if by Gods punishment, or by some other accident the harvests do not prove so barren as they haue beene these last yeares:) and lastly so carefully kept and gouerned by her Catholike and valourous Princes as a man may resolutely conclude, that if the Turke do come thither, either he shall retire and returne, as heretofore diuerse his elders and predecessors haue done, or else Italy shall become his Graue and Sepulchre, euen as it hath alwayes beene to all Barbarians. But for as much as it is the office of true Politike prudence to feare an enemy, not thereby to become a Dastard, or a Coward (as Thucydides sayd) but with all diligence and circumspection to procure and provide such remedies, as may vanquish and overthrow him: I will briefly set downe, how wee may diuerse wayes meete with those and such other daungers, that may hang ouer Italie by reason of the Ottoman Armies, and also what remedies may be most profitable and effectuell in this present warre, and therefore are greatly feared by the Turks themselves.

§ XV.

AMong other remedies, that were proposed, when Mahamet the second surpris Ottranto,
(as

of the Ottoman.

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(as I tolde you) to diuerter him from Italie, one *Martin de Segoni* Bishoppe of *Dulcigno*, as we reade in a Treatise that hee wrote thereof to Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, propounded this present remedy, which it delighteth mee to report in his owne verie wordes. *Pannonum Rex* (sayeth hee) *cum suo Exercitu, confederatisque populis, presentet se ad Danubium, fama precedente quod in Rasciam sit traiecturus: futurum inde omnium Turcorum multitudine sibi obuia ad Istrii traiectum progrediente, Gentes nuper Valonam & ad alia Epiri maritima loca misse, ad Italiam transfretande, statim ob metum Pannonum ad castra Turchi reuocentur.* That is to say, Let the King of Hungarie with his Armie and Confederates present himselfe at the Danowe, with a fame and rumor first geuen out, that hee is minded to passe ouer into Rascia: and thereupon will it come to passe, that al the Turkes multitude proceeding to meet with him at the passage of the (Danowe where it is called) Ister, the souldiers which were lately sent to Valona, and to other maritimall places of Epirus, of purpose to bee transported into Italie, presently for feare of the Hungarians, shall be called backe to the Turkes Campe.

Now wee hauing in steade of the king of Hungarie, the Emperour, and the Prince of Transylvania, I will discourse to the same purpose, as well of the one as of the other, so far forth as shall bee sufficient most clearely to make knowne, what hinderance and detriment it would bee to Christendome, if these two Princes, should make peace with the Turke, at the least so speedily as it is doubt-

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The opinion of Martin de Segoni for diuerting the warres from Italie.

Counsell to make a diuerting warre.

The pleasure strength, and gouernment of Italie.

The aduice of Thucydides to thinke vpon daungers.

The third part

ted they will : because among all the good meanes that may bee vsed to secure a state from their most mightie enemies, there is none so safe and approued by great Captaines then this course of diuerting warre. As among others *Hannibal* told *Antiochus* when hee aduised him to set vpon Macedonia, to the end King *Philip* might not send ayde to the Ro- maines : and *Hieron* King of Syracuse, when hee aduised the Romanes to set vpon Africa, to the end the Carthagenians might not send succours to *Hannibal* in *Italie*.

9 XVI.

Why the Em- perour should not make peace with the Turk **T**HE Emperour hath already his weapons in hand : and although indeed hee haue lost some places, yet hee hath also gotten some others. The warre is not altogether inconuenient or incommodious, by reason of the nearenesse thereof. The Souldiers haue now begunne to enure themselves to the warres, and to take courage against the horrible shoutings and outcries of the Enemy, and are already accustomed to endure cold and frost. The Captaines haue learned the Militarie Discipline, and the manner of fighting with the Turkes : if our Souldiers issue forth into the field before our enemies, wee may attempt to recouer eyther by sledge, or surprise some of those places that haue bene lost : yea and so much the rather, for that it will bee a harde matter for the Turkes to succour it, because those that are gone home to their houses, cannot in time returne in so great a multitude for want

of the Ottoman. 80

want of grasse and vittailes : and those that remaine in the frontiers are not able and sufficient both to offend and defend. Moreouer, there is not a small number of those, that haue refused to stay in Hungarie, because they had not wherewith to liue, and because they would auoyde the distemperature of that colde ayre, which will vse all their arte and cunning to stay at home.

Let vs adde hereunto, that now is the onely time, wherein it is to bee hoped, that all the Princes of Germanie, both great and smal, wil waken and rouse themselves in earnest, because it is not now so much in question to defende the Hungarians, who are naturally hated by the Dutch (as many other Nations doe also hate one another) as it is to defend themselves, their wiues, their children, and their owne riches. In which point, if they conceyue peraduenture, that they might keepe and enioy al these things aforesaid, more safely and securely vnder the gouernement of the Turke, they may bee verie easily certified of the truth of this their conceit, when they shall beholde the Tragicall spectacles of Greece, which since it hath bene vanquished by the Turks, hath remained like the Iewes, without King, without Scepter, without libertie, without titles, without riches, yea, and (a most horrible matter to report) euen without the comfort of the tender embracements of their owne naturall children.

Whereas, if the warre continue, who can with any reason doubt, but that the Princes of the Empire shall of necessitie be enforced earnestly to assise and ayde both the Emperour and themselves ? because

The Princes of Germanie to ayde the Emperour.

The lamentable state of Greece.

Reasons to continue the warre.

The third part

cause it is in all likelihoode to be feared, that *Mahamet* will set forward his Armie either towards *Toccai*, of purpose to hinder the vnion of the Emperour and the Transylvanian, or to *Vienna*, as he was perswaded to haue done, not long ago by *Sinan*, who shewed vnto him the easinesse of winning it, the glorie that would redound vnto him thereby, and the great importance of the enterprife : And also for that from the languishing of the head proceedeth the weaknesse of the members. And it may be, that he commaunded his armie to retyre out of *Croatia*, not onely because he knew the iealousie which the Italian Princes doe carrie of their owne affaires, and specially the Venetians, who in that respect haue put themselues in defence with their new fortresse of *Palma*: but also because hee would vnite all his forces together, & so become the stronger to performe the said enterprife. But howsoeuer it bee, certaine it is that he hath not withdrawne it for any giftes or rewardes which he hath receiued from the Venetians, as some haue falsly beleued. Againe, that wee may thinke the better of this daunger, it is a matter worthie of good consideration, that *Mahamet* was enclined to this enterprife from his childehoode, in so much as euen at that time hee made humble supplication to his father, that hee would reserue that glorie for him: which without all doubt, if (as God forbid) it should so fall out and come to passe indeed, would not onely proue to bee a most notable losse to the Empire, but also in particular to all Italie. For so hauing gotten the possession of that key, which is of greatest importaunce to open him the way

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way into the entrance of all those Countries, he shall also haue a more readie and easie passage into the fairest and goodliest part of the world, which is the verie vttermost scope and end of all the Ottoman designements. For that, euen as he hath a free way to come to *Vienna*, by pasing betweene the *Danow* and the *Draua*, in lower Hungarie, and so without any impediment to *Giauerino* (a Fort, that by the aduice of *Alfonso* Duke of *Ferrara* was caused to be made at the verie selfe same time that *Soliman* arriued there by the selfe same way, and where at this day also, being possessed by the Turks in maner and sort (as *Philippo Pigafetta* hath written) they may easily passe to trouble and vex both *Astria*, and *Stiria*.) So if hee should be possessed of *Vienna*, hee may without all doubt the more easily assault *Italie* by two other wayes, which I haue not as yet named. The one is, by the way of *Tiroll*, descending by the Alpes of *Trento* into the Champaignes of *Verona*, where *Alarico* entered: or by those of *Bassano*, which is a way that hath bene often vsed by the Durche: the other is, that of *Villaco*, wick commeth directly from *Vienna*, and meeteth either at *Frioli*, or at *Venezone*, or at *Ciuidale*. The Turkes also in such a case may take another way, which was heretofore made by the Barbarians, that is to say, the way of *Tolmezo* in *Carnia*, which may also meete at *Cadore*: but that shall not be to any great purpose for them.

But for as much as among those things, which hinder the Emperour from such aydes and succours as he desireth and as without all doubt would be most fit and conuenient for this present businesse, there are three especially that are worthy

The way for the Turkes to come to Vienna.

Three other wayes for the Turke (if hee obtaine Vienna) to come into Italie.

Toccai.
Vienna.

Why the Turk
withdrew his
armie out of
Croatia.

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worthy of greatest consideration: it shall not be amiss to touch them.

§ XVII.

The speeches that hinder the Emperour from necessary aydes of the Christian Princes.

THE first thing is, the voice that runneth amongst the many Protestants of the Empire: that if his Imperial Maiestie should become the conqueror of the Turke, they shall bee of necessitie enforced to yeeld obedience to the Pope of Rome (as they call him) a matter that is abhorred by the common sort of people, but much more by the great Princes and Potentates there: by the great Princes especially, because they haue vsurped a dominion vpon the greatest Ecclesiasticall liuings and reuenues: by the common people, because they are perswaded therevnto by the Protestant Ministers, as namely by the Calvinists and Lutherans, who doe resolutely aduise them rather to obey the Turke then the Pope, and therefore *Caluanisme is a kind of disposition to Mahometisme, as many very learned men haue written.* Besides that both the great Potentates, & also the common Subjects there haue suffered themselves most easily to be perswaded to this impietie and vngodlinesse, onely in regarde of the most sensuall and licentious life, which they are thereby permitted to lead.

The second thing is (which is so peremptorily disputed by many) that the Emperour is to make peace with the Turke, because the Empire sheweth it selfe so backward and faint to relieue him: as well for that it feareth to spend her treasure to no purpose, as also

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also for that it being of it selfe enclined to peace, it doeth willingly take aduantage of this occasion: which also ministreth matter to many Christian Princes, especially to the Polack, and to the Venetians, that they doe not stirre eyther litle or much against the Turke, because they suspect they shall bee abandoned and forsaken, when the cause is at the best, and that they shall spend themselves without any gaine or profite. And it seemeth that it is made the more credible by this, for that it is maliciously giuen out and published to the world by those Imperialists, which haue no greater inclination towards that most religious house of *Austria*, v^z. That the Emperour is not greatly inclined to warre: That hee keepeth himselfe continually retyred in *Bohemia*, in *Prage*, in his pallace because hee feareth some violent death: whereunto hee is the rather induced eyther by reason of the conspiracie which was lately discovered, or of that which a certaine Englishman called *Dee*, foretold him (a matter in sooth no lesse superstitious then vnworthie to bee apprehended and beleegued by a Prince that is so wise and feareth God.) But certainly if it were true, that the Emperour either for these or for som other reasons did now incline toward peace, it had beene a more safe counsell and aduise for him, to haue resolved on it, euen in the beginning and at the first, rather then at this time, in regarde of such reasons as I haue heretofore declared, and also more at large in a certaine discourse, which I haue made vpon this point euen to this day. And thus also, was Archduke *Ferdinando* aduised by *Peter*

The backwardness of the Empire in relieuing the Emperour.

M. Iohn Dee.

The third part

The aduise of
Pete: the Vauode of Moldaui.

the Vauode of *Moldauia*, who if he had not dyed in the yeare 1594. in the mountaines of *Bolzano* was vitterly resolu'd (though hee was a man of the Greekish sect and religion) to haue come and kissed the feet of our Pope, as I haue declared in due order and place.

The difficultie
of the requests
made by the
Imperial prin-
ces.

The thirde and last thing is, That if the Empire on the one side bee not willing to contribute to so great expenses, vnlesse the Conquestes that may bee made and atchieued, become vnited to the Empire it selfe: and if the Emperour on the other side will not consent thereunto, by reason of the pretenses and challenges, which hee hath to *Hungarie*, being a state of his own, it seemeth that both the one partie and the other, doe propound matters so difficult, that none of them are likely to bee effected. True it is, that wee ought to thinke and belieue that the Emperour knoweth full well, if hee should shew himselfe contented to doe that which the Imperiall Princes doe request at his handes, hee should thereby preiudice himselfe, & yet those Princes would afterwarde forbear to doo that in deedes, which they offer in wordes. And thus much let bee sayde touching the Emperour.

§ XVIII.

The Prince of
Transyluania,
and his valor.

NOW touching the Prince of Transyluania, who may now serue (as the Second Champion) in stead of the former King of *Hungarie*, there is no doubt to be made, but that hee is both in religi-

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on and in heart a most fierce and eagre enemy agaynst the Turkes. That which hee hath done hitherto, (say what they list of him, such as either are not well informed or too affectionate and passionate in the cause) doth yeeld vnto all the world a most cleare and manifest testimonie, that hee is no lesse braue in bestirring himselfe to fight, and resolute in his courses, then fortunate in his actions, and euen such a one as the auncients required a Capitaine to be. And this not by the fauour of fabulous fortune, but in truth by the grace of that Lord, who in the holy Scriptures is called the Lord of Hostes, by whom like a new *Dauid* or *Iudas Machabeus*, hee is louingly defended and protected. He is also greatly feared of the Turkes by reason of certaine popular and common predictions of theirs, which although they be in deed but light and vaine, yet doe they make a great impression in the mindes of barbarous and base people, and specially of the Mahometanes, who do absolutely beleue *Fatum*, or *Destinie*. Among these their diuinations and Forebodings, they hold this one to be of great account and reckoning, which saith, That from the cliffes of the Mountaines of Transyluania, there shall one day come forth a Prince, who shall ouercome and bring to nothing the Ottoman Empire. So saith *Flavius Vopiscus*, in the life of the Emperour *Florian*, That in his dayes it was prophecied of an Hungarian prince which in time should reduce all the Barbarians vnder his commaund and gouernment. And the like also is read in *Suetonius Tranquillus* of the Emperour *Galba* (For neuer yet did Princes want their flatterers.)

Why the
Turks feare
him.

A Prophecie
of the Turkes
for Transyl-
uania.

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Another prophetic touching the end of Mahamets sect. Musulmani.

Moreover the Turkes doe also constantly beleue, that the Sect of *Mahamet* is not to last any longer then for a thousand yeares, which tearme according to our computation cannot be farre off: and that the *Musulmani*, (for so the Mahametists doe call themselves, that is (*Truly religious people which beleue aright*)) are not to haue aboute fourteene or fiftene Emperours: and therefore they do greatly erre, that reckon seuentene of them at this day. This *Mahamet*, who now liueth may bee reckoned the foureteenth or fiftenth: for *Mose* or *Musa* (as they call him) some doe reckon him among them, and some doe not. Lastly it is also most true, that the Turkes doe greatly feare the Transylvanian, and in that respect doe diuerse and sundrie wayes endeuour, not onely most diuelishly to weaken that valorous courage, which he sheweth against them, but also to deprive him of his life: perswading themselves for certaintie (besides all that which hath bene touched before) that he hath secrete intelligences, euen with in the Citie of *Constantinople*, to ouerthrow that estate: & that if his glorie & renown do encrease, the matter will easily be brought to passe, for that he is so willingly followed and accompanied by the Transylvanians themselves, who doe most readily obey him, and for that also hee is greatly desired and wished by the Walachians, the Rascians, the Bulgarians, the Sicilians, and all other warlike and hardie Nations to bee their Lord and Maister. And that this is true, I will briefly declare, because I do thinke that for the better vnderstanding of the state of this present warre, it will bee verie necessarie to know

Why the Turkes do go about to bereaue him of his life.

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know what these peoples are.

§ XIX.

THE Transylvanians without all doubt are esteemed to bee the most warlike people of all Europe. These together with the Moldauians, and Walachians, are the auncient Dacians, whom the Romans so greatly feared: insomuch as when they had ouerthrowne the Armies of the Emperour *Domitian*, the Romanes were forced to pay them tribute vnder the same *Domitian*, vnder *Nerua*, and in the beginning of *Traians* Empire, vpon condition that they should not passe ouer the *Danow* to annoy and endamage their Countries. This is manifestly made knowne to the Turkes themselves, by the discomforts which many times haue bene giuen them by *Coruinus*, by the two Battories, and lastly by this third man, who at this day is in warre agaynst them.

The Transylvanian Nation.

Why the Romans paid tribute to the Dacians.

Moreover, *Michael* the Vaiuode of Walacchia, although in times past he held that gouernement of the Turke, yet now he is vnder the obedience of the Transylvanian: and without doubt it standeth him greatly in hand to continue in that protection, because hee may not now any longer trust the Turkes, who haue bene so oftentimes displeased and discontented with him, and specially for the slaughter which he made of those, that vnder his promise of peace were sent by *Hassan* Bassa into Walacchia. Besides the Walachians, whose valour is verie well knowne to the Turkes, when they serued vnder the conduct of

Michael the Vaiuode of Walachia.

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of *Dracula* their most valiant Captaine, the said *Vaiuode* is attended for Souldiers with many Hungarians and Transylvanians, some few Albanians, Grecians, Bulgarians, and Rascians. Hee hath not many Arcubusiers, as also the Transylvanian himselfe hath no great store of them. For all these Nations, and especially the Hungarians doe vsually fight at hand, and on horsebacke with Launces, and with a wonderfull courage shew their faces to their enemies.

The Rascians, who in the Councill of *Constance* be called *Sirsi*, are a people that haue their originall offsprig, from the vpper *Misia*, which now is called *Serua* and *Rascia*. They by reason of the Turkish wars did heretofore retire theselues to the further side of the *Danow*, and not to this side, as some haue writtē: & at this present they dwel nigh to *Temesuar*, *Lippa*, & those parts. They did in times past rebell against the Turke & now do serue the Transylvanian.

The Bulgarians, some do inhabite all that Countrey which was called the lower *Misia*, euen to the *Danow*, ouer against *Walachia*: some inhabit *Thracia*, together with the Grecians, and others in *Macedonia*, which now also is inhabited with Grecians, with Seruians, and with Albanians. The Bulgarians are a braue and valorous people. Some of them that haue fled out of their owne Countrey, doe serue the Transylvanian, and no doubt many others would runne also vnto him, if he had sufficient meanes to entertaine them. They are verie apt to make a tumult and insurrection, as well in their owne Countrey, as also among their neighbours, if they were cherished and heartned thereunto, especially by the

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the Transylvanian, whome they do admire no lesse, then that *Alexander* the Great, who was halfe their Countryman, that is to say, *Pella*, a place of *Macedonia*: and vnto whome hee hath with great iudgement beene likened, by *Girolamo Frachetta* in those orations, which he hath written to this valourous Prince.

The Siculi or Sicilians, who inhabite the mountaines towards *Polonia* and *Moldania*, and that parte of the Countrey which is somewhat more hilly, are fierce and sturdie Clownes, resembling the Tartarians, more then any other Christians of those quarters: and therefore they should bee called *Sythuli*: They are rather footmen then horsemen, and haue also some Arcubusiers. They followed the Prince of Transylvania in the yeare 1595. when hee passed into *Walachia* against *Sinan*, at which time the said *Sinan* did most shamefully run away: But hauing receiued a promise of the Prince, that their Noblemen should bee exempted from some subiection, in regarde of an offer, which they made to conquire as much Countrey more, as that was which they did enjoy: when they perceiued that their intention & his promise was not kept and performed, they rebelled and made an insurrection, while the prince was at *Prage*: but afterwardes with the punishment of some of the Principalles, and two hundred others, they were well quieted and pacified.

The Prince of Transylvania compared to Alexander the Great.

The Siculi or Sithulians

Why the Siculire belled.

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§ XX.

The Prince of Transylvania wanteth money.

How his wants to be supplied.

The Counsell of Demosthenes to the Athenians, applied to this purpose by the Author.

THE prince of *Transylvania* doeth not entertaine and receiue vnder his Enseignes, all those peoples that doe thus admire him, and so greatly desire him to be their Captaine and Lord: because he hath no good meanes for money to pay them: for without stipends or wages, it is not possible that souldiers can bee satisfied and maintained: neither are their spoyles, prayes, and booties sufficient to feede them, and keepe them contented, nor their Haruestes and Collections, to supply the wantes of so great a number, especially in the times of warre, wherein all things grow from worse to worse. In such sorte as I doe conclude, that forasmuch as our Christian Princes haue no better means to maintain this warre against the Turke, and that in some remote place, and farre distant from their own countreys and States, nor a more easie and safe waye to overcome him, then by obeying and following euen the very selfe same counsell which *Demosthenes* gaue to the Athenians, when the people of *Olinthus* (a Cittie of *Thracia*) craued their aide and succours against *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, and King of *Macedonie*, at such time as hee went about to assaulte them: I will bee also so bold (though not in such eloquent termes as that most famous Oratour did vse) to tell them, that the fittest and meereft counsell which can be giuen them for the common good, is with all speede to succour and relieue this courageous youth (as in part the Pope, & the most religious King

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king of Spaine haue done) with some part of those treasures which they haue receiued from God, to be spent in the seruice of his diuine Maiestie, and their owne saluation. For there is no one thing that doth more hinder the propagation of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and the good successe of their actions against the cōmon enemy, then to want money sufficient for his necessities, or rather not to make some greater preparations and prouisions for so weightie an enterprise. And so much the more, for that hee is compelled to spend a good portion of that little, which he hath in mainteyning his forces that are diuided, partly in *Walachia* to keepe them in awe for feare of their reuolt to the Turkes, and partly in diuerse places of *Transylvania* towards *Moldauia*, for feare of the *Moldauians*, of the *Tartarians*, and of other his enemies. Besides that it may be with great reason suspected and feared, least if this Prince shall want meanes and habilitie to maintaine himselfe with forces in the field against the enemy, rather then he will yeeld and submit himselfe againe to an Infidel Prince, he wil resolue vpon some such course as he thinketh more godly and pleasing to God, and more safe and secure for himselfe: which peradventure may redound to the great damage and hindrance of Christendome, for the losse that it should receiue in those partes of so valiant a Prince, as (I feare mee) it hath some fauour and taste of it already.

And now for as much as I haue shewed, that it is not good for the Emperour and Transiluanian to make peace with the Turke, I will for the last poynt discover vnto you

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you

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What thinges you, the thinges which theemie doeth greatliest feare, the Turke and what may be performed on our behalfe to annoy him esp. cially feare th. most.

§ XXI.

The Princes of Italie.
The Duke of Florence.
The Pope.
First the Turke feareth least the Princes of Italie will resolute in earnest to succour the Emperour and the Transylvanian either with men, or with money. He seeth, that the great Duke of Tuscane hath sent his brother, and his Neewes to the one, and Capitaines and presents to the other. That the Pope sent the last yeare his Neew with a good armie into Hungarie, by meanes wherof the Garrison of *Strigonia* and *Vicegrado* was the sooner yeilded: and moreover that he furnisheth both the one and the other with money: yea, and likely it is, that as he is able, he will do so still, vntill the warre bee ended. He perceiueth also, that the going of the Duke of *Mantua* into Hungarie made his Souldiers beleue, that the other Italian Princes would likewise make some stirre. He doubteth, least the Venetians will be at the last of necessitie compelled to take vp armes against him, either for their owne proper interest and benefite, or by the continuall and instant motions of the Pope, as they did in the times of Leo the ix. of *Nicholas* the 2. of *Gelasius* the 2. of *Alexander* the 2. of *Galixtus* the 2. of *Clement* the 3. of *Nicholas* the 4. and of other Popes: so that not onely for the singular benefites which they haue done to Christendome, they haue deserued and obtained verie great preheminiencies and priuiledges, at the hands

The Duke of Mantua.
The Venetians

of the Ottoman.

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hands of the Emperour and the Popes, but also for their pietie and obedience to the Sea Apostolike, but also by common consent to bee called the defenders and fortresse of Christian Religion. And hereupon it commeth that the Turke dare not at this time minister vnto them any occasion of the least discontentment in the world, but doth readily satisfie them in any matter, which they request of him.

§ XXII.

Moreouer hee doubteth that *Polonia* also will rise vp against him: knowing for certaintie, that the Pope offereth to furnish it with good store of money, whereof the meaner and poorer sort of the people in that kingdome are verie greedie, and desirous. For they think, that they cannot in any better sort purchase desert to themselves from their Prince, for which they may afterwards in conuenient time craue reward at his hands, the to serue him in his warres. This suspition and doubt of his, is the more encreased in him, because hee knoweth that the king of Spaine did not answere the letters of the King of *Polonia*, but vntill now at the last, when hee was somewhat discontented with the peace which *Maximilian* had concluded with that kingdome. And further, the Turke knoweth full well, that if *Polonia*, should once in earnest resolute vpon this point, he should of necessitie be compelled to make a defensue war, rather then an offensue, to his exceeding great disadvantage, and that for 3. reasons.

Polonia.

Three reasons why if Polonia rise against the Turke, hee shall be forced to make a defensue warre.

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Hieremie the
Vaiuode of
Moldauia,

1 The first, because thereby he must needes loose *Moldauia*, for that the Polack hath appointed for Vaiuode of that prouince, one *Hieremie*, who is a man that sheweth himselfe not altogether alienated misseaffected towards our affaires of Christendom: and who also in respect that hee may in good time vnderstand any stirres that the Turke shal make, and minister good store of vittailles to the campe is one, that will be worthie of no small regard and consideration in this present warre. And therefore I may not forbear in such an important poynt to tel you, that it shall alwayes be good for our Lord and his Ministers to maintaine good intelligence with the said *Hieremie*, and that they be carefull to looke what sort of persons they send to treat with him, and how they write vnto him: for these people, who be the verie *Dani & Geta* in *Terence*, are by nature most suspicious. It will be good also to honour him greetly and to seeme most willing to visite such, as he shal send either to Rome, or to treat with the Nuntioes Apostolike. For the Turke endeouoring by diuerse and sundrie meanes to bind him to himselfe, or wholly to alienate him from vs, or else at the least to coulsen and deceiue him: (all cunning fetches much vsed by the Ottomans) it cannot bee but verie helpfull and beneficiall to vs, to maintaine him, as much as may be, in good loue and amitie with vs.

The Cofacchi

2 The second reason is, because thereby, he shall haue the *Cofacchi* more openly to oppose themselves against him, as wel for that they be subiects of the K. of *Polonia* (as the *Vscocchi* be of the Emperour) and

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and receiue their Generall from him, whome the Souldiers doe ordinarily obey: as also for that they may at their pleasure burne and destroy *Vofia*, which is a Fortresse of the Turkes, situate at the mouth of the Riuer *Boristhenes*, called by the Polackes *Occhiaconia*, and by the Moldauians *Dassona*: as in the yeare 1583, they burnt *Bendero*, their Generall being then *Ianzo* the Hungarian, who was appointed ouer them by K. *Stephen* of *Polonia*. Many other harmes and annoyances they may also doo vnto him, as they did vnder *Suita* the Russian, and vnder *Conte Ianus* sonne of *Basilus* the Duke of *Ostroua*, and other their Captains, which they likewise receiued from the Polonians. These *Cofacchi* doo dwell in an Island of *Boristhenes*, almost foure dayes iourneyes aboute *Vofia*. The Island is called *Chirches*, and the Riuer *Boristhenes* is by them termed *Nis*, which is the *Niepro*. They are Arcubuziers, and excellent Archers, and both by nature and open profession verie greate enemies to the Turkes. Many of them doo serue at this day the Transylvanian, the foresaid *Hieremie* and *Michael*. Others doo attend and goe with the Chancellor of *Polonia*: and others are also disperfed and scattered in *Podolia*. But all of them with great courage doo shewe their faces to the Tartarians, and Turks.

3. The last reason is, because the Polacke onely, or at least more then any other Prince, is able to make the passage to *Constantinople* more easie for our people: for that is the place, whether we must needes goe at the last, if we mean to doo any good in deed. And so much the more, for that if the Po-

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The passage
more easie to
Constantino-
ple.

The third part

lack, doo shew himselfe to bee an enemy to the Turke, then the Transylvanian shall not neede to feare the passage, which his Armie must make into Walachia. For the way of Moldavia without touching Walachia, would bee verie incommodious for it, aswell because it runneth too neare vnto the sea, as also because if hee would passe into Bulgaria, hee must returne backwardes to goe into the Countrey, that they may keepe and feede his horses, and to auoyde the vnlucky place of Varna.

And here by the way, I will not forbear to aduertise you of an error, which is of no small moment, as I haue also endeauored my selfe to doe, in sundry fitte places of this narration, of diuers others which peradventure will not proue altogether vnprofitable, to such as are delighted with the like studies. And the error is this, that P.Iouius describing the said Prouinces of Walachia and Moldavia, being deceived by the ambiguous and doubtfull wordes of Polackes, confoundeth the one of them with the other. And so are others also deceyued who doo thinke that to bee Walachia, which the Hungarians call Transalpina the lesser, whereas in comparison of Moldavia, it should bee called Transalpina the Greater. Those are likewise in an error, who do hold, that walachia called by the Turkes Ilakia, deriuing the name from the ancient Romane Flacci, is also termed by them Bogdania & Cara Bogdania, for by that name they terme Moldavia (and not Walachia) eyther because it is very plentifull of that kinde of graine, which wee call Saracino, and Formentone, that is to say, Wheat, whereof Formentie is made, or because one of those Prin-

Error touching Moldavia, and Walachia.

Ilakia, Bogdania, Cara Bogdania.

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of the Ottoman.

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ces of Moldavia, with whom the Turkes had some long warre, was called Bogdano, that is to say, Deodato. i. Gods gift, adding therevnto for his prænomen or forename Cara, which signifieth Blacke. And it is called also Moldavia of the Dau, who were the first inhabitants thereof, and rather for the softnesse and fatnesse of the moulde of that soyle, then for the blackenesse of it, as he thought; that called it Mori-Dauia.

But returning backe againe to Polonia, I will here set downe also the aunswere, which the Chancellor of that kingdome made to Sinan Bassa, at such time as he required and demaunded the tribute, which he wrongfully pretended to bee due to his Lord and maister: to the end that thereby may be knowne the benefite and profite, that in all reason is to bee expected of this cöbination, if the Polonian will yeeld vnto it. Sinan caused a message to be deliuered to the Chancellor, that without delay hee should pay the said tribute: or else he would force him to leaue the Frontiers, and to retire to the Icie Sea. The Chancellor caused answere to bee redeliuerd backe vnto him, that hee would not stay for him in his owne Countrey of Polonia, but that he would enter into the Ottomans Territories, and proceed with all speed euen to the banks of the Danow, & fortifying them on both sides, would make the place more easie to passe vp further into those Countreyes of the Turke. This is Dacia Ripensis, which as you may read in Procopius, was fortified by the Romanes. Zoëmus doth greatly blame Constantine the Emperour, because he forooke and abandoned the Fortes of the Danow: the reliques whereof are yet to be seene in

The answer of the Chancellor of Polonia to the demaunds of Sinan.

Dacia Ripensis. Constantine the Emperour.

Aa

Rosic,

The third part

Rosic, Vidim, Nicopolis, Ssistria, and other places that are possessed by the Turkes.

§ XXIII.

Why the Turke feareth Moscouia.

By what names the Turkes, and Persians call the Pope.

The Califa. The Czar of Moscouia.

MOREouer, the *Ottoman* not only esteemeth the Pope to be the head and chiefe of all the princes Christian, so that by his auctoritie hee may easily vnite now some, and then some of them against him but also accounteth him to be as a temporall prince, in regard of that which he possesseth in Italie: and thereupon he calleth him *Franch-Beg*, the Prince of Italie, or of the Italians, and *Rum-Beg*, the prince of Rome, whom the Persians call in their language *Rum-Schach*. *Halife* and *Califa* the Turkes call the Vicar of God, a title, which most impiously the ancient *Agarenes* began to appropriate to themselves. So that the Turke dooth greatly feare, least the Pope should send some person of credite into *Moscouia*, to sollicit the vnion of that prince with the Emperour, which would bee a matter of great losse vnto him: or at least that he should perswade him to let or hinder the comming forth of the Tartarians: as we haue shewed before, how hee may easily doe it.

He also feareth the armies and power of the *Czar* or *Zar* of *Moscouia*, for so the Moscouites doe call their prince: besides the reasons before alledged, as well for that he doth absolutely commaund and gouerne his subiects, and therefore it seemeth that among al the princes of the world, he is the only man that

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that may compare with him: as also for that he doth verie well remember the discomfitures which the Moscouites haue giuen to the Turkes (for the Turkish princes doe vse to record in writing the actions of their ancesters) and in particular, when thy went about at the last to draw the *Tana* into the *Volga*, they were by the Moscouites (who had vnited themselves with the Tartarians of *Precop*,) scattered and put to flight.

Hee feareth the *Czar* likewise, because hee doubteth least vpon this occasion there followe a treatie of the vnion of that prince, with the Church of Rome, as it hapned in the times of *Adrian* the 6, of *Leo* the 10. and of *Clement* the 7. Popes of Rome, in maner and sort as it is written by *Albertus Campensis*, and as it is more at large recorded in the *Moscouia* of father *Antonio Possenino*, a greate minister of the seruice of God, sent of late for the same purpose by *Gregorie* the 13. to *Iohn Basilus*, vpon occasion of the warre, which the said *Iohn* had with *Stephen* king of *Polonia*. Or rather he feareth the *Moscouite*, because hee suspecteth, that if he should become the head and chiefe of all the Grecians, it would so much the more encourage and hearten that Nation to make an insurrection and rebellion in the *Ottoman* state. These are matters that might peraduenture be brought to passe and sort to good issue, if among the *Moscouites* there were lesse ignorance in matters appertaining to God, so that a man might freely conuerse with them, and preach the worde of Christ: and in brieft, if these vnions were not of purpose negociated and handled, rather

Aa 2

by

A wish of the Authors, that these things may come to passe, & how.

The third part

by such cunning and craftie deuises, the more easily to enlarge Dominion and Schisme, then for any thing else: euen as the *Turke* vnder the amitie and friendship, which hath beene sought and offered vnto him by many Princes, hath entred and pierced into the bowels of Europe. But of this point we doe not nowe stande in feare: and therefore I wish that we would hope in the Lord, and pray that he would take away from their eyes that vaile of obstinacie, which hath hindered them from seeing the goodly light of the euangelicall truth, and that he would renewe in the great duke now liuing, or in his successors those spirites, which were in that same *Basilus*, who by the meanes and mediation of *John* king of Denmarke, requested of Pope *Iulie* the second, that hee might send his Ambassadors to the Councell, not for any ambition, or ostentation, or priuate interest, but onely to humble himselfe in truth, and sinceritie vnder the mightie hand of God, and to visite the Pope.

This suspition is increased in the *Turke*, by the late humiliation, which was made to the Church of Rome by the *Maroniti*, (who (as *Haythone* writeth) doe inhabite about the Mount *Libanus* in *Soria*) procured and wrought by the Iesuites, and by *Vecchi-etti*, with the protection and parronage of pope *Gregorie* the 13. and of *Ferdinando* the great Duke of *Tuscane*. But much more is he dismayed at the obedience which those Bishops of *Russia* haue of late yeelded, who in the names of themselves, and of the *Russians* which are subiects vnto them, by the zeale of *Sigismund* king of *Polonia*, haue humbled themselves

Basilus,

The submission of the Maroniti to the Church of Rom.

The submission likewise of the Russian Bishops.

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themselves to Pope *Clement* the viii. whereof Cardinall *Baronus* hath more particularly written in his learned *Annales Ecclesiasticall*. And this matter is so much the more considerable, for that especially by the meanes and helpe of the *Russians*, the conuersion and vnitng of the *Moscouites*, may exceeding easily bee procured: and also for that with lesse expenses and danger, passage may be made by *Mosconia* into *Asia*, for the sowing and planting of the Faith of Iesus Christ, then by all the other parts of the world besides.

Lastly, the *Turke* feareth the *Moscouite*, because he suspecteth, that hee will dispose himselfe to moue waire against him, as often as hee seeth the Emperour and Empire to doo the like in earnest. And in this point consisteth the whole matter, as it was signified to the Emperours Maiestie by the Embassadors of *Mosconia*, that were last sent vnto him from the Prince of *Mosconia* with verie rich presentes, at the instigation and exhortation of *Alessandro Cumuli* the Popes Agent.

The Moscouites Embassadors to the Emperour.

XXIIII.

THE Ottoman likewise feareth, that his Holines will send Agentes, especially men of great authority and good iudgement to the *Tartarians*, as well those that are free, as those that are subiect to the *Tartar* of *Crimo*, to the end that by offering & giuing Money to certaine chiefe persons, which are of greatest reputation among them (as it is vsed also among the *Swizzers*) they should prouide, that

Why the Turke feareth Tartaria.

Aa 2

they

The bird part

they stirre not out of their own Countrey: with an open publication of the Popes name, as at other times it hath beene done. For all the Tartarians are of an opinion, that the Pope hath exceeding store of treasure, and is a man of great power and authority, and therefore they will bee very readilie resolued to pleasure him in any thing. And it is holden for certain among the Turkes, that the Emperour and the Transylvanian did so this last yeare, because the Tartarians came vnto them in so small a number, and not in that multitude, as they had provided, and as some of vs (Christians) did vainely and falsly belieue. And so much the more is our vaine opinion confuted, because it is notoriously known, that *Alipe Chan*, treating with Visconte the Nuntio for some aide, that hee might bee preferred in his State against his Brother *Hirach*, was not able to procure many of his owne people to be sent forth out of his owne Countrey. I know it wel that some haue attributed the cause of this defect of the Tartarians to the discontentmentes, which they haue conceyued against *Amurath*, for the peace which hee made with the Persians: For (say they) they had thought to haue gotten vpon the Persian, before this peace had beene concluded, so safe a passage to goe to *Mecca*, as without passing thorough the Turkes Countrey, they might freeilie haue gone thither. But I know that these men are greatlie deceyued. For they were not the Tartarians of *Crimo*, that were so greatlie discontented with the Turke: but those that were ynder the obedience of *Vsbeg-Chan* (of whome I haue some-
what

Why the Tartarians haue come in so small a number to aide the Turke.

Why the Tartarians were discontented with *Amurath*.

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what spoken before.) and those also not for that cause which they alledge. For (if I be not in an error) although they would haue gained and gotten into their handes all the whole Persian Estate and kingdome, yet they must algates of necessitie passe through the Countrey of the Turkes, when so euer they would go to *Mecca*. But the reason thereof was because *Amurath* had concluded a peace with the Persians, without making them acquainted therewithall, and to the exceeding great detriment of their designements and affaires.

And in sooth euen as true is it, that the Tartarians did forbear to come to the Turkes in so great a multitude as they expected, because they were kept backe by the Moscouite, although the Tartarians themselues did vse it for an excuse: but the verie truth is, that the Tartarian two brethren being become great enemies, the one to the other. *Alipe Chan* to maintaine himselfe in the state, and *Hirach* to driue him out of it, they held all the Countrey in a faction, and busied wholly in the defence of their owne priuate quarels, as yet they doe. For *Alipe* though he be the King now reigning, is not obeyed by all the Tartarians: and *Hirach* is acknowledged to be king, onely by such as haue serued him as generall in this warre. Who although it is verie likely that in the end hee will get the victorie, because the Turkish Emperour *Mahamet* hath commaunded them all to obey him, and acknowledge him for their king, and the greatest part of the Souldiers doe follow him: yet is the contrarie opinion holden by such as haue the best intelligence of the Tartarian
affaires

The difference and quarrell betwene *Alipe Chan*, and his brother *Hirach*

The third part

affaires, not onely because euen among the Barbarians. *Ius Natura*, i. the right of Nature caryeth a great stroke, but also because *Hirach* is lesse beloued, more auaricious, and esteemed among them to be a man of small braine and valour.

§ XXV.

The Turke feareth to be troubled by the Pope, and the king of Spaine.

Conditions requisite to be in such as should be feart to trouble the Turkish state.

What pretence or colour they may vse.

LAstly, the Turke feareth that the Pope and the king of Spaine are minded to trouble his state and Countrey, both by sea and by land, and by that meane to diuert him from his purposed designmets. But forasmuch as this may bee done by diuerse and sundrie wayes, it will not be amisse in plaine and distinct maner to tell you, what I thinke. The Christian princes, and especially the pope, may send diuerse Agents into the Turkish Empire, who (that they might haue the more credite) would be of the selfe same Countreys, wherein such a trouble and insurrection should be attempted. It were verie fit also that they had the tongue, to the ende they might both vnderstand, and be vnderstood: and lastly that they be men of good cariage and iudgement: but aboue all other thinges, that they haue conuenient supplie of money, to spend vpon such chiefe men and Captaines as are of greatest credite with the people, and that they haue authoritie withal to promise to such as are the mightiest among them, that they shall be well rewarded and recompensed. Finally, it shall bee verie needfull, that for their more easie admittance and intertainment in the Countrey, and not on a sodaine to be driuen away, they should

couer

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couer all their treaties with the couer of Religion, not to couch the Snake vnder the grasse, as our naughtie Politicians do, but (if so it may please the Lord) among the thornes of their errours to sowe the seede of Gods worde, making shew for the time that they wil reforme and repaire the Churches that are in Tartaria, Circassia, Bulgaria, Walacchia, Moldauia, and Grecia.

Moreouer the territorie of the Turkes, and especially that part which the Turkish Empire doth possesse in Europe, inhabited partly by Turks Natural, partly by Rinegados, and partly by Christians, the Ottoman Prince may with great reason feare, that if either his Armies shall receiue an ouerthrow, or some of his principals be corrupted, his peoples will make an insurrection and tumult to his exceeding great losse, yea, and peraduenture to his viter ruine, euen as *Caesar* wrought and effected against *Inba*.

Howe the Turke may be ouerthrowen by his owne nation.

But because the knowledge of these peoples is verie necessarie, for the better understanding of this point touching these insurrections and rebellions, I will enlarge the matter somewhat farther.

§ XXVI.

THE Turkes naturall, that is to say, those that be Turkes of the auncient offspring, although they be by nature not of so euill a disposition and inclination, as the other Rinegate Turkes are, yet bee they as greatly discontented and displeased as the Rinegates are: so that it will be no great matter for them one day to make a rebellion, especially if they shall

The naturall Turkes.

B b

find

The third part

Why then natu find a Head, or a Captaine fit for the purpose. The
 rell Turkes occasion of their discontentments springeth from
 me discontent- hence, that they see all the militarie charges and of-
 fices, whereon only the profite, commoditie, & ho-
 nour of that Empire doth chiefly depende, (as it is
 before partly touched) are giuen and bestowed vp-
 on the rinegate Turkes, those few onely excepted,
 which are graunted to some of the naturall Turkes
 by exceeding great fauour, or to the children of the
Sultane-Ladies. And herevpon it commeth, that a-
 mong the *Musulmani*, there is no terme or title
 more honourable, or more in request, then to be cal-
 led *Schiano del Gran Signore*, the vassall or slaue of the
 great Lord: nor any more infamous and more ab-
 horred, then the worde Turke: for Turke in their
 tongue signifieth a villaine: as among the Greeks
Nomade doth not signifie onely a man of Numidia,
 but a Sheepeheard, and therefore *Strabo* calleth the
 Scythians, *Nomadi*. And hereof likewise it is, as it
 hath beene also obsetued by a late moderne wri-
 ter, that euen as the Italians doe in their Comedies
 bring on the stage a *Zani*, which is a Bergamaske
 slaue or villaine, so the Turks in their playes do bring
 vp a Turke, that is to say, a rusticall or rude Clowne.
 Others there are, which deriue the worde Turke
 from the Hebrew, and wil haue it to signifie an Exul
 or a banished man, for the selfe same reasons, for
 which we told you before, that the Tartarians cal-
 themselves *Reliquias; reliques*.

The rinegate Turkes, out of all question it is cer-
 taine, that when by the grace of God they shall feele
 and vnderstand the benefite which they haue lost,
 they

Why then natu
 rell Turkes
 me discontent-
 ted.

What the
 word Turke
 signifyeth.

The Rine-
 gades,

of the Ottoman.

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they will easily ouerturne that state vp-side downe,
 with the totall and vtter ouerthrow of that Empire:
 considering that they haue in their hands (as it hath
 beene tolde you) all the reputation and riches,
 which are the thinges whereon both Credite and
 Obedience do necessarily depend. But for as much
 as they are men of a most vitious and wicked na-
 ture, and are tollerated in all kind of beastly inso-
 lences, so that they dare doe any thing that them
 listeth, they are willing and content to liue in that
 infamous liberty, without attempting any inno-
 uation.

The Christians, who by the Turkes are called *Ghiauri*, that is to say, Gentiles and Infidels, euen in
 regarde of the diuerse and sundry Rites that are a-
 mong them, especially in the Turkish Countrey,
 (not knowing poore vnhappy soules, that there is
 but one onely true Church, one Baptisme and one
 true Faith) they are cyther of the Greeke Sect, or
 of the Latine Rite. I doe not entend at this time
 to discourse particularly of althose that haue strayed
 from the purity of the Greeke sect, as the Geor-
 gians, the Armenians, the Æthiopians, the Iaco-
 bites and many others, that dwell (as I told you) in
 the Ottoman Empire, aswell in Europe, as in *Asia*,
 and *Africa*, both because it hath beene diligently &
 curiously done by others, and also because it is a
 very intricate and difficult matter, by reason of their
 differences in opinions, and distances of Count-
 yes, and for many other respectes, to bring them to
 conspire together in one, (without the great mira-
 cle of G O D,) for the subuersion and ruine of that
 Empire.

The Christi-
 ans called by
 the Turkes
 Ghiauri.

Georgians,
 Armenians,
 Æthiopians.

The third part

Heretikes.

Empire. I ouerpasse also the Heretikes that are among them, for that although they doe remaine in the Ottoman State, eyther as Reliques of their ancient Forefathers, or else of late retyred into diuerse partes of that Countrey, to liue the more licentiously, or like the Sonnes of Sathan, to disperse their poyson euen among the Turkes: yet being so greatly abhorred of them, as disturbers of the public peace and tranquillitie. (as *sultan Soliman* wrote to the *Queene Dowager* of Transyluania.) They cannot bee permitted to make any great trayne, or worke any inuouation among the people. I wil onely speake of those Greekes, which serue best for this our purpose, not regarding them for this time touching their Religion, but considering them for so much as in policie may bee expected and hoped for at their handes, in this particular point of rebellion and insurrection. The Greekes without al doubt, are by a certaine pricke and eage desire to dominere and rule, which they haue had by nature most desirous of Nouelties: and because the Turkes doe so greatly tyrannize ouer them, they doe willingly and readily embrace any alteration or tumult, hoping by that onely meane to shake off the heauie yoke of their most miserable slaue-rie. And this is chiefly and especially desired by the Greekes of *Morea* and of *Thessalie*, and by those rather which dwell towards the sea, because foraine aides and helpes may more easily bee supplied to them, then to those that dwell within the land. But farre aboue all others, it is most desired by the *Serniani*, being a Nation that inhabiteth
in

Sultan Soli-
man to the
Widdowe
Queene of
Transyluania.

Greekes,

of the Ottoman.

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in the mountaines of *Albania*, euen to the *Danow*: among whom those that are in *Dardania*, and most neare vnto the saide Mountaines, are best able to make the greatest stirres. And they be the *Piperi*, the *Cucci*, the *Clementi*, the *Bellopauligi*, and others in the Countrey of *Plaua*, and among them there are many Albanians that liue after the Romish rite. And these be they, that because they haue a strong site for dwelling, and are by nature verie fierce and hardie, haue not as yet suffered themselves to bee subdued by the Turkish forces. And therefore they did (at the last) attempt to withdraw themselves out of the Ottoman tyrannie. For hauing vnderstood that *Mahamet* was discomfited and slaine in the battaile at *Agria*, they all arose in a tumult vnder the command of *Gardan Vainode*, and made a great slaughter of the Turkes that were in their Countrey: but when they were minded to passe further, they vnderstood the contrarie, and so in a discontented manner retired themselves into their mountaines.

Rebellion of
the Greekes in
Plaua vnder
Gardan Vainode.

And for as much as these poore miserable Greekes haue endured so seuerer chastisement at the handes of the Turkish officers, that they remaine not onely most pitifully afraied, but also most grievously oppressed, their chiefe heades and gouernours being cruellly put to death, their children taken from their parents, some killed and slaughtered, and almost all of them bereaued and spoyled of that little which they had, and brought to extreame miserie: a man may verie plainly and clearly see and know that to be most true, which is written by *Iohn Botero* in his *Africa*, and more at large by *Antonio Bruni* in his
treatise

Iohn Botero,
Antonio
Bruni.

The third part

Caution to be obserued in rebellion. treatise of the Beglerbey-ship of *Gracia*, that is to say, That it is not good to attempt such enterprises and insurrections, but with a strong resolution, and forces sufficient to bring the intended purpose to passe. For otherwise they waken and arme the enemie, and serue to none other end, but to worke losse to the Authours of them, and to themselues that are in the action; and so much the rather because such rebellions (for the most part) are not thoroughly considered of, nor well aduised, nor raised in fit time & opportunitie. And that this is true, it may bee perceiued & known by that which the Turke did, whē he vnderstood that the Armadaes of the Portugals had oftentimes entered into the redde sea, and were there entertained by the Officers of *Prete-Ian*, and that they also gaue ayde to the Portugals agaynst him. Fortherupon he tooke away from *Prete-Ian* almost all the Prouince of *Bernagasso*, and made the Arabians to fortifie their hauens, which alwayes before were wont to be open and common.

Why the Turk tooke Bernagasso from Prete-Ian. Moreouer, the Chimeriotes, of whom I haue spoken somewhat already, hauing lately made a rebellion, by some perswasions giuen vnto them (and specially by the meanes and helpe of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Ocrida*, who made them belecue that hee had intelligence with the Emperour, and that he expected aydes from the king of Spaine) were enforced to reconcile themselues to the Turkes, as diuerse other times they had done before, with such conditions, as were of great disadvantage vnto them: which likewise (to leaue now al older examples) happened in our dayes to the *Ducati* their neighbours; who after

Rebellion of the Chimeriotes.

Athanasius B. of Ocrida.

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after they were well chastised by *Pirri Bassa*, then being the Sangiack of *Deluino*, and brought not to many more then two hundred households, were transported to *Neribo*. *Pirri Bassa.*

Lastly, the taking of *Cliffa* (to leaue those of *Caronne*, of Castle *Nuono* in the time of *Charles* the fifth, and others) which fell out now last of all, hath not wrought that benefite and profite, which was highly desired by the popes holy minde: and principally because the *Murlacchi*, by whom the imperialists did verily belecue they shoulde haue beene ayded against the Turke, perceiuing so small a number of them to come, quite contrarie to their hope and expectation, because they would not make their estate worse with a greater affliction & punishment, came downe from the mountaines and fought on the Turkes side, who did helpe them to defeate *Lencovich*, telling him plainly that they would be true and faithfull to the grand-Turke. *The taking of Cliffa.*

Why the Murlacchi went against Lencovich.

But returning to those peoples, that dwell in the Turkish Country, it remaineth now to speake of the Latines. Some of them dwell there as forreiners and straungers, and some make their continuall abode there. The forreiners attend and employ themselues vpon trades and trafficke, either by themselues, or by others for them: and little harme can they doe, hauing neither a Head or Captaine to guide them, nor weapons sufficient to fight withal, especially being in number so few, and dispersed scattringly here and there ouer all that state. Some there be that making these Latines to bee all one with other Christians, that are of a seuerall sect, do hold opinion, that they

The Latines The forren Latines.

The third part

they which dwell in *Constantinople*, by conspiring together, vpon any occasion of some notable tumult and vprore raised by the Turks theſelues, may make some ſtirre not vnworthie of good conſideration. For they do think, that the Latines being (indeed) of greater number in *Constantinople*, then in the other moſt populous Cities of that Empire, ſuch as are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, and *Tauris*, adding *Pera* therevnto, where all the Latines almoſt do remaine, thoſe few *Caffaluchi* excepted, which keep in *Constantinople* after they were transported thither from *Caffa* by *Mahamet*, they may the more eaſily confederate themſelues together, and be provided and furniſhed with armour, whereof the Turks are wont moſt ſtrictly to ſpoyle the Chriſtians in other places, therby the more to ſtrengthen and ſecure their own eſtates. And hereupon *Amurath* the laſt, hauing accuſed the Chriſtians that they had ſet on fire certain ſtreetes in *Constantinople* (euen like for all the worlde as *Nero* did, when hee accuſed the Chriſtians that were in *Rome* in his time of the like crime) & therefore had giuen order, that the Iannizaries ſhould hew them in peeces, he reuoked that commaundement, when he was aduertised by the *Aga*, that in regarde of their multitude it could not bee put in execution without great daunger: beſides that it would breed an exceeding notable loſſe of his cuſtoms, and greatly diſturbe the trafficke which would bee a thing againſt reaſon, and the law of all nations: and therefore he cauſed diuerſe Iewiſh women to be put to death, that had counſailed and aduiſed him therevnto.

Others

of the Ottoman.

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Others are of opinion, that ſome perſons might bee vſed without any ſuſpition of the Turkes, who vnder the colour and by occasion of traffique, in the Ottomans Dominions, and ſpeciallie in *Constantinople*, might eyther by large bribes, or by ſoothing and foſtering the ambition or diſcontentmentes of the chiefeſt great men, ouerthrow that Empire with a ciuill warre, and the rather for that their Prince is a man of ſmall witte or forecaſt: as peraduenture it had fallen out, if wee Chriſtians had furthered the diſcontentmentes and iealouſies of *Ferat*, of *Hibraim*, of *Pirri*, and of *Muſtafa*, and of *Mahamet Baſſa*, and laſtly of *Sinan* and of *Ferat*, and thoſe iarrs that are not yet appeaſed betweene *Cicala* and *Hibraim*. And this matter might the more ſafely bee brought to paſſe, if any occasion ſhould fall out, that diuerſe Brethren ſhould meete in pretenſe and challenge of the Empire, as it happened among the Children of *Mahamet*, of *Baiazet*, and of *Soliman*: or if the Empire ſhould chance to want a Naturall Succeſſor.

And forasmuch as the will of Man, may bee wonne and bowed two manner of wayes, that is to ſay, eyther by force or by reaſon: Some thinke that the Turkiſh State may bee ouerturned not onely by ſuch meanes as are aboue mentioned, but alſo by diſcouering vnto the Turkes, and particularly vnto the Iannizaries, on the one ſide their birth and offspring, and the Baptiſme which they haue had, and on the other ſide the fables and mad fooleries of the Alcoran, which are verie learnedly declared by Cardinall *Cusanus*, and other writers

C c

But

The meanes to raiſe ciuill warres among the Turkes:

Iarres betweene the Great men of Turkie,

That the Turkiſh eſtate may be ouerturned rather by learning then by Force.

The Caffaluchi.

Why Amurath meant to put to death certaine Chriſtians of Constantinople, & yet did not.

The third part

John Andrea Alfacqui of Sciatiua, But the more auailable course would bee, to make some easie and witty bookes of this matter in the Sclauoyne tongue, and in the Arabike, as in particular hath beene alreadie done by *John Andrea*, sometimes a Moore, and Alfacqui, of the Cittie of *Sciatiua*: and the bookes of the one language to bee dispersed and scattered in Europe, and the other in *Asia*, causing them to passe from the Indies, to *Mozambique* in *Africa*, and from thence to *Zofala* & *Quiloa* which are in *Asia*: Or to the *Moluccoes*, to *Gouien*, *Goa*, *Diu*, *Ormuz*, and other places where the Turkish merchantes doe haunt and frequent: or els to *Oran*, to *Arzide*, and to other places subiect to the King of *Spaine*: or lastly thorough the Countreys of the Gentiles and Heathen, that are in amity and confederacie with the Christians, as *Calicut*, *Zeilam*, *Cambaia* and others, and ouer all the partes of Europe, that confine and border vppon the Turkes. which course in mine opinion, although it will not peraduenture worke that which such like bookes doe vsually worke among vs Christians, being sowne and scattered abroad for the most part by men, that are desirous of Nouelties, especially for that the Turkes are as farre from employing themselves in reading and studie, as wee are too much addicted thereunto, and curious therein: yet notwithstanding, it may peraduenture one day worke some great good, if some Great man among them should become the Head of a new sect: for thereby it may easily come to passe, that hee should bee followed by the multitude, as it hath happened in *Germanie*, in *England*, and in *France*, and oftentimes among

of the Ottoman.

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among the Turkes themselves in *Africa*, where learning flourished for a long time, and in *Persia* among the *Sophilarii*, who are the followers of the Sect of *Hali*, one of the fower companions of the seducer *Mahamet*, which sect was afterward rather renewed then inuented by *Erdeuil*, whome *Paulus Iouis* calleth *Arduel* the Father of *Ismael* the *Sophi*. Erdeuil.

And here I cannot but vpon this occasion recount vnto you a matter most worthie to be recorded in Historie, that happened in the life time of the last Emperour *Amurath* at *Constantinople*. And thus it was. That one of those youthes which are brought vp in the Royal Serraglio, hauing leasure & conueniencie to reade the Holy Bible, and therevpon by the mediation and working of the grace of God, being brought to the knowledge of his error wherein hee liued, caused himselfe to be carried into the Presence of the Great Turke, and there with a Christian courage and boldnesse told him, That if he would preserue his soule from the eternall fire and damnation, hee must surcease from following that impious superstition of *Mahamet*, and humble himselfe vnder the obedience of the true law of Iesus Christ the Sauour and Redeemer of the whole world. But hee was for the same, as though he had committed a most heynous and grieuous offence, condemned publikely to bee spitted aliue vppon a stake, where hee iterated and repeated the same words to all the people, with such effectuall termes replenished and enflamed with the fiery spirite of the holy Ghost, that many of the beholders feeling themselves inwardly inkindled therewith, did burst forth

The third part

foorth in commiseration of his death, into verie disdainfull and despitefull speeches against *Amurath*: and if the tumulte had not beene appealed at the first, by the Prætorian Bandes, certainelic there had followed thereupon a most daungerous and perilous sedition.

Commendati-
on of the D. of
Florence for
printing in the
Arab. ke tong.
So that in truth, the Great Duke of Tuscan, deserueth exceeding prayse and commendation, for causing many good and godly workes to bee imprinted in the Arabike Character or Letter, of purpose to disperse them afterwarde, as hee doth in *Africa*, and else where. A course out of all question, that although it was heretofore disturbed and hindered by the Sirisse of *Africa*, vpon the insinuation of *Antonio di Flores*, a Neapolitane, yet one day perhappes may bee so happily promoted and furthered, as it will bring foorth that fruit which was affected & desired by Pope *Gregorie* the XIIII. a man in that respect worthie of euerlasting memorie, and is also at this time greatly endeauored by the Pope that now liueth.

But forasmuch as the greatest part of those Christians, which doe continuallie dwell and remayne within the Turkish dominions, are Albanois, I will somewhat insist vpon telling you somewhat of them.

XXVII

The Albanian,
Some of these Albanois or Albanians do liue according to the Latine rite, others after the Greekish rite: but all of them dwell not onely in that part which is called *Albania*, beginning on the west

at

of the Ottoman.

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at *Dulcigno*, and the lake of *Scutari*, and ending on the East at *Bastia*, which I tolde you was right ouer against the Island of *Corfu*: but also in other places of *Morea*, and of *Grecia*, where they haue withdrawn themselves eyther by occasion of the wars, or beene transported thither by the Emperours of the East, thereby to remedy their often rebellions.

Their habitations.

Touching these Albanois Latines, the same *Bruni* Their Conditions.

doth write, that as they are the best armed people so are they the most true and faithfull Christians in all the Ottoman Empire, holden also to be the most valiant and greatliest feared for their continuall insurrections, rayeing trouble and tumult vpon any the least occasion that they can catch: and this is the qualitie both of those that dwell in the playne Countrey, and also of those that keepe in the mountaynes.

Howbeit they are constrained in despite of their teeth to submit and humble themselves, because they are not able alone and of themselves to resist the Turkes, and much lesse their neighbour Christians, by whome they are verie many times more vexed and troubled for their rapine and spoyling of Christians, then for sayning themselves to be faithfull towards the Turke. Besides that oftentimes the Sangiackes doe minister good cause vnto them to rebell, eyther because they vse to praye vpon them, or for that they would be reuenged on them, or else that they might haue a likely excuse for not going abroad to any warre a farre off. And for the same purpose the Sangiack of the *Ducagini* doth neuer depart from thence, like as also he of *Castell*.

Their weaknesses.

The Sangiacks of the Ducagini.

C 6 3

Angelo

The third part

The Sangiack of Castel-*Angelo* doth, who vnder the colour and pretense of defending that Countrey from the Christian Armadaes, stayeth alwayes at home.

The Ducagini. These *Ducagini* do dwell in the mountain *Scardo*, at the confines of *Preferemo*, called in times past *Parrecopoli*, or *Perenopoli* which is in *Dardania* vpon the borders of *Albania*, inhabited more by the *Albanois*, then by the *Seruians*: neyther is it that which is called *Iustendil*, as some doe think: for the one Cittie is distant from the other by the space of three dayes iourneyes, and yet they bee in one and the selfe same Prouince. They are also greatlie deceyued in my iudgement, which are of opinion, that *Iustendil* is *Iustiniana* the first, and not the second, and that *Preferemo* or *Iustendil*, was the naturall Countrey of *Iustinian* the Emperour, and not *Ocrida*, which is in truth *Iustiniana* the first, and was called in the old time *Lycbindo*. Those that do dwell somewhat farre off out of the common highway, doe pay no tribute, because they are defended by the rough and craggie passage of their mountaine scituation. The mountaine is called *Nero*, Blacke, and so are many mountaines in Turkie, called likewise by the same name.

Albania described. This *Albania* at the Adriatike Sea is compassed about by verie high mountaines. A plaine countrey it is, and watered with many very great riuers, so that they debarre passage for footmen to trauell to those Christians that inhabite the other partes of the Countrey. They haue no Horse, neyther haue they any meanes to make Bridges. Those places that are inward and inclosed within the waters are in the

of the Ottoman.

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the possession of the Turkes: and although they be not all garded with Garrisons, nor strongly kepte, yet the principall of them are verie safe, so that they cannot couertly bee robbed or spoyled by the Christians: which point (sayeth the said *Bruni*) I thought good to note vnto you, in regarde of the opinion, which is conceiued of these peoples, that they are able of themselves to performe soome good, without the helpe and succours of any forraine Nation: and that the fame and rumor onely of the aides that should come from *Italie* and *Spain*, with a shew likewise but of one Regiment vnder an Ensigne, (euen as the Embassadour of *Lewes* Duke of *Myllane*, told *Charles* the VIII. King of *France*,) is sufficient and enough to stirre them vppe to an insurrection. But God graunt that the vnhappy wretches be not brought into daunger hereby, and that by these open and publike treaties, there bee no losse indeed of the oportunity of some good, that may be expected in times to come.

And thus much bee spoken of the Turkes naturall, and of the Rineadoes, and of the Grecians and Latines, that dwell in the Turkes dominions.

§ XXVIII.

AND lastly the Turke considereth, that if the Gallies of the king of *Spaine*, that is to say, the Guardes of *Naples*, *Sicilie* and *Genoa*, should ioyne themselves with the Gallies of the Pope, of *Malta*, of *Florence*, and of *Sauoy*, they would make so good a bodie of an Armada, that being assisted by fauourable

The Turke feareth the ioyning of the Popes Gallies with the Spaine Gallies.

The third part

rable winds, they may very easily on a suddaine assault, either Castle-Nuouo, or the Velona, and other places of Albania: or else if they forbear so to doe in regard of the Common-wealth of Venice, who chalengeth iurisdiction in the Adriaticall Sea, for such reasons as are at large displayed by *Giralamo Bardi*, they may assaile Morea, and perhaps also the Dardanelli, or some other notable place of his Empire to his exceeding losse.

Which paynt being verie considerable and of good consequence, it will not be amisse, for the better information of such, as shall courteously reade all these discourses, and doe not so well know the particulars of those places which belong to the Turke, and may by vs Christians be easily assaulted, that I tell you somewhat in particularitie, and specially touching their situation, and the manner of winning them, whether it be likely to proue well or no.

Castel-Nouo. Castle-Nuouo is within the Chanell of Catharo called in olde times the auncient *Aserinus*. The entrance therevnto is verie hard and difficult, by reason of the straites in the mouth of it, where *Iacomo Soranzo* the general Proueditorie for the Venetian Armada, had made the fort of *Verbagnio* euen with the ground, which was there built by the Turkes. To get that place, the spade may worke much, but it may easily be succoured by land. It was sometimes possessed by the Spaniards, who although they did not maintaine and keepe it against *Barbarosso*, for the reasons that are most manifest, and knowne, yet are they greatly commended by the Turkes in their Chronicles.

Velona, called in times past *Aulon*, is situate at the mouth

of the Ottoman.

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mouth of the gulf of the Sea Adriatike, ouer against the promontorie of *Santa Maria*, in old time called *Iapygia*, in *Pulia*, not about threescore miles from *Otranto*. This place hath no conuenient Port or Hauens for the Gallies, but some three miles off: the entrance thereof, being well defended, and barred with marishes, with Pooles and Saltpits. It is not verie strong, and yet if you should be minded to conquer it, you must batter two Castels, the one, which is in the plaines and almost conioyned with the Burgo, and built in times past by the aduise of *Pignatello* an Out-law of Naples: and the other, which standeth aloft, lesse then a mile distant from the Citie, and is called *Canina*, now inhabited by the Turkes, who had driuen the Christians from thence, vpon a suspicion, that they had taken of them in this present treatise of reuolt.

Touching the rest of *Albania* or *Arbania*, the places which may bee gotten, are within land, and those that are on the sea-coasts haue no Hauens. Besides that the Inhabitants are for the most part verie base and cowardly people. And although the time was indeed, wherein the Albanois did shew themselves verie valiant against the Turkes, and specially in the dayes of *George Castriotte*, yet now they cannot shew themselves to be the same men, because they haue their enimie not onely their absolute Lord and Maister at home in their houses, but they haue him also on their backes, as in tymes past they had not: to which calamitie they haue been subiect, euer since the Turke hath gained their Countrey, and the Countrey adioyning vnto them.

D d

More-

Velona:
The Promontorie of Santa Maria.

Pignatello an
Out-law of
Naples.

Why the Ar-
menians can-
not doe that
which they
did in times
past.

George Ca-
striotta.

How the pla-
ces possessed
by the Turkes
on the seacoast
may be as-
saulted.

The Fort of
Verbagnio de-
tached by Ia-
como Soranzo

The third part

Moreover, the Albanois are greatly diminished, and want such a couragious Captaine as *Casfriotte* was, who had good intelligence of the Turkish affaires, well experienced in the Countrey and highly beloved and admired of the Countrey inhabitants, and also of his souldiers.

Dulcigno, called heretofore *Olcinio*, or *Colchinio*, may be assailed by an Armada. For although it want a Haven, yet in good weather the Fleete may disbarke vpon the shore. It is by situation verie strong, but a great part of it is fallen by an earthquake: and therefore if it should be wonne, it wil be most needfull for the maintaining and keeping of it, to fortifie it anew. If *Dulcigno* be wonne, *Scutari*, in times past called *Scodra*, may peradventure be woone also. For although it bee fortified in a situation that is by Nature most strong, yet is it so ill guarded by the Turkes as it may easily bee entred in the night time vpon a sodaine.

Durazzo, of old called *Dyrracchium* lieth in the plaine Countrey. It is not strong, but in trueth it would be the aptest and fittest of all other places to make entrance into the enemies Countrey, because it is situate in the middle, and neare vnto Italy, although it bee very subiect to the expectation and feare of the enemies assaults.

Morrea. The Turke may also be greatly damnified, by entering in *Peloponessus*, which is at this day called *Morrea*, either for the many Mulberie trees which are there, or because it hath the shape or forme of a Mulberie leafe. This prouince lying in the midst of the states, which the Turke hath in Europe, if it were

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were entred, wee should make warre with him at home within his owne Countrey: which is indeed the true Art of warfare: for so did *Cyrus*, *Cesar*, and *Hanniball*, and so haue the most famous auncient Captaines aduised to do, whatsoeuer other moderne men of later times do say to the contrary. Moreover, by this meanes he should easily be diuerted and turned away indeed, and his Armada hindred from going any further.

The true way
how to warre
with the Turke

Lastly, if *Salonicchi*, sometimes called *Thessalonica* might be gotten, it is most certaine that it would be verie available for the forwarning of our affaires. For our people and Souldiers being disbarked at that place, they may afterwarde very conueniently and commodiously passe vnto such places as lie vpon the high way which leadeth to Constantinople, and cut out a way into Grece, as did the Romanes, and *Alaricus* king of the Gotthes, who with thirtie thousand men onely, subdued and conquered the Romanes themselves. And so much the easier will it be, if at the verie selfe same time the Polack and the Transylvanian be pricked forward to passe ouer the *Danow*, and so going on through *Bulgaria*, to annoy the enemy in earnest, euen to the Citie of Constantinople.

Salonicchi,
Alaricus king
of the Gotthes

§ XXIX.

BVt most true it is, that it will be verie necessarie for the safe and sure effecting of these other like resolutions, if our Princes shall happen to bee resolved to put them in execution in deed, that they vse the greatest secrecie that may be. One thing sayeth *Haytho* the Armenian, writing vpon the iourney to the

Aduertisements
how to bring
their matters
to passe.

Secrecie.

The third part

Haytho the
Armenian

Holy Land,)among others. I dare bee bolde to put you in mind of that in any case, as soone as the Christians shall bee resolved to doe any good, they doo warily and curiously keepe secret their intents and counsels, to the end that the enemy be in no wise informed or acquainted with their purposes. For the Christians in times by-past, because they would not conceale their designementes, found by experience, that they fell into many disadvantages, whereas on the contrarie side, the enemy hath auoided many daungers, and so bereaued the Christians of their opportunities, to bring their wished desires to effect. To leaue the examples of the Gentiles, when *Iudith* was resolved with a courageous minde to goe and kill *Holofernes*, for the deliuerie of the Cittie of *Bethulia*, it is written in the Holy Scripture, that shee would not make any partaker of her purpose, but sayde to two onelie, and afterwarde to the Priestes: *Vos nolo vt scrutemini actum meum, & vsque dum renuntiem vobis, nihil aliud fiat, nisi oratio pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum*: I will not haue you to enquire of my Act, and vntill I declare it vnto you, Let no other thing be done, but prayer for mee to the Lorde our God. This course if it were practised in our times with true deuotion and Faith, certainly it would not fall out, that our Princes should haue any neede at all to feare a happy and prosperous issue of their counsels and deuises, and thereby they might also more curiously search and find out the designementes of their enemies. For euen as God doth neuer abandon or forsake those, that with pure zeale do fight
for

Iudith. cap. 8

of the Ottoman.

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for his most holy name, so dooth hee well know, how to find good and conuenient meanes for the discouerie of all the secrets of his enemies vnto the true ministers of his Holie will, as hee did to *Eli-Elizeus*, when hee disclosed vnto him the Counsels of the King of *Syria*, although hee vsed all the care and cunning that hee had to conceale them from him. ^{4. King. 6. cap.}

Moreover it would bee also necessarie to haue such persons in the Armada, as are verie expert in the knowledge of the Countreys, least it happen to them, as it happened to the Knights of *Malta*, who fayled in the surprise of *Modone*, because they did not know at the first that there was a Bridge to be passed ouer, presently after they had made their first entrance. ^{Knowledge of the Countrey. Knights of Malta.}

It were likewise very fitte and conuenient, that the saide persons (as I haue told you already) should haue the language, a sound iudgement, good credite, and quicke vnderstanding, but especially, and aboue all, that they haue a desire to doe good to Christendome. Qualities (no doubt) that are to bee found in plentifull manner in some that liue at this day, and would be verie apt and meet instrumentes to bring greate enterprises to good passe, if our Princes by their good seruice and meanes would resolve themselues to doe it in deed as did Pope *Iuly* the II, by the helpe of *Constantine Cominianus*, and Pope *Pius* the V. who called Fryer *Gasper Bruni*, the commendatorie of *Ierusalem* from *Dulcigno*, of purpose to vse him in the Armada against the *Turke* and other matters of mo-
ment

D d 3

ment

Knowledge of
the Countrey.
Knights of
Malta.
Languages,
Iudgement,
Credite,
Vnderstanding
and desire to
praise God,

The third part

Why Princes do ostentatiously entertaine the opinions of such as know least, ment appertaining to that warre. But the mischief is, that for the most part our Princes doe giue credite to such persons, as neither know nor vnderstand the mysterie and Art of warrefare, either because those places are carried away by fauour, yea and verie oftentimes disposed vpon those that vnderstand least: or because they make a promise to performe the enterprise with lesse charges and expenses then others will doe: or by flatterie, or by ambition, or rather (as I thinke) to make a gaine thereof: wherevpon there ariseth great losse and shame, both to the Princes themselves, and to the Promoters and furtherers of such goodly instruments.

§ XXX.

The Turke feareth the assaulting of the Dardanelli.

TO be brieue, the Turke is afraid, least the Armada of Spaine, or any other fleete of ships might depart in Iune with some North-westernly windes, not to goe (as it went the last yeare to sacke *Pata-rasse*) or into *Alexandria* (as it thought to haue done long ago) or into Africa (as peradventure it will be no difficult matter for the Spanish Armada to doe) or lastly to endamage and annoy some other place both within and without the Adriatique Sea, which I will not name, because I will not discover or disclose that which is not so well knowne in Hystories, as some other things also are (that I haue touched) and which peradventure may one day be happely attempted: but to goe, and vpon a sodaine to assault the *Dardanelli*, called in auncient times

Sestus

of the Ottoman.

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Sestus and *Abydo*, which are (as it were) the forewals and the first gate of entrance into his pallace, and *Mahamet* the second fortified them as soone as hee had gotten *Constantinople*. And so much the rather, for that if they haue the said windes fauourable, the voyage will be but of a few days iourney: and by sayling to the Gulfe *Lanciato*, the passage will be also more safe from the enemies Armada. For although our Armada should bee perceiued by the Turkes that keepe on the sea coasts, yet would they thinke that it were the Turkish fleete. And therefore it will bee verie needfull for those that desire to attempt this enterprise, that they would remember, not to put this deuise in execution, vntill such time as they shall know for a certaintie, that the enemies Armada is gone forth.

And yet I do not say, that when the *Dardanelli* are surpris'd & taken, *Constantinople* will presently be gotten, as some haue written: but this I say, that it will put that Citie in such a fright, as it will be no great matter, if any tumult be raised to make the entrance into it, verie easie of it selfe and open, especially if they shall haue before hand entertained some intelligence within the Citie, or that the Turke shall haue receiued some notable ouerthrow, eyther by land or Sea.

The *Dardanelli*, that is on Europes side; hath a hill that doth wholly commaund it. The other which is in *Natolia*, or *Asia*, as they call it, lieth in the plaine. They are both easie to be gotten, because they are built after the olde maner. Against that which standeth in *Asia*, the Abbay may also be vsed, and so by making

By taking the Dardanelli the entrance into Turkie will be easie.

The distance of the Dardanelli, the one from the other, and from Gallipolis, and from Constantinople.

The third part

making great hilles of sand (for it is built vpon the shore) it may be vndermined, as the Turkes vse to doe. They are in breadth distant the one from the other more then a mile: and in length from *Gallipoli*, thirtie myles, and from *Constantinople* about a hundred and threescore.

§ XXXI.

THere are likewise many other wayes, whereby the Polonians, the Hungarians, and the Transiluanians may attempt also by land with diuerse outrodes in the time of Haruest to gaine vpon the Turke some place of good moment, and so enter within the enemies Countrey, by some way which they would little dreame off, and specially by keeping themselves towards the Sea, to the end they may be succoured by our Armadaes, if need should be. For so we reade, that heretofore five hundred *Taisali* alone (as *Zozimennus* writeth) which now are the Transiluanians, and Walachians, made an incursion vnder *Constantine*, euen as farre as Constantinople, to the exceeding affrightment and terrour of the inhabitants of that Cittie. The wayes, whereof the Turkes are most afrayed, are those of *Sophia*, of *Andrinopolis*, of *Philippo-polis*, and of those quarters.

How the Polonians, Hungarians, and Transiluanians may make outroades into the Turkish territories by diuerse waies

The Taisali, what they are,

The wayes which the Turke chiefly feareth,

The reading of histories in this point verie available,

But to the ende that our Princes may bee assured, how after their departure from Italie, they may enter a great way within the *Ottomans* Countrey, and passe euen to *Constantinople* it selfe, let them reade the voyages of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, of *Constantius*,

of the Ottoman.

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Constantius and *Magnentius*, of *Iulian* and *Theodosius*, of *Eugenius*, of *Arbogastes*, of *Theodoricus* king of the Gotthes, of *Odoacre* king of the Heruli, of *Alaricus* king also of the Gotthes, & of *Attila*, of who I haue before made mention. And lastly let them very well consider, of the purposes and deuises that *Mithridates* had to come into Italie, when he departed from *Pontus*, and *Scythia*, that is to say, from *Circassia* and *Tartaria*: The Designements of *Philip* king of *Macedonie* to passe into the Adriatike sea. The disbarcking and landing of the Romanes vpon the *Macedonians*, and the returne which the Captaines of *Vespasian*, of *Antonie* the first, and of *Mutianus* made into Italy out of *Soria*, and also the iourney of *Boemond*, and others, when they went to the conquest of the holy land, and other such like voyages, that may be collected out of Histories.

§ XXXII.

Finally, I will set downe for the last poynt, as it were for a Conclusion or Epilogue, of so much as hath beene spoken, what *Francis Guicciardin* writeth of Pope *Leo* the tenth, when he greatly feared, that *Selim* would haue passed into Italie, not vnlike to that which other Popes haue done, as *P. Iouius* writeth in his counsell giuen for the warre against the Turke, and sundry other Authours likewise. The Pope (saith *Guicciardin*) like an vniuersall father, be- thinking himselfe of the Common good of Christendome, after hee had first caused verie deuout prayers and supplications to bee celebrated to God,

The consultation of Pope Leo the tenth, about the attempt of making warre against the Turke.

Frances Guicciardin.

E c where.

The third part

whereunto hee went himselfe bare-foot: he sent writtes or Brieftes to all the Princes Christian, warning them of the great daunger that was imminent and at hand, and comfortably exhorted them, that laying aside all discordes and contentions, they would readilie attend vpon the defence of religion, and their owne common safety, by vniing their mindes and their Forces against the Turke, and by going to assault him, euen at his own home: Hee published vniuersall and generall truces betweene the said Princes, with the punishment of the heauiest censures of the Church to be inflicted vpon such as gaine saide the same, to the end, that onely such matters as belonged to so great an enterprise, should bee entertayned and handled. He dispatched vnto them for the same purpose diuerse Legate-Cardinals, men of great authoritie, and renowned aswell for their experience in this businesse, as also for their opinion of learning. He aduised and consulted with the Embassadors of euery Prince, and examined the seuerall conceites and iudgements of militarie men, and of such persons as were well acquainted with the Countreys, with the disposition of the Prouinces, and with the Forces and Armes of that Empire. Last of all hee resolved with himselfe, that it was most necessarie to prouide a very great summe of Moneyes, partly by a contribution voluntarie to bee made among the saide Princes, and partly by an vniuersall Imposition to bee leuied vpon all Christian Nations: and therevpon the Emperour accompanied with the Hungarian and Polonian

of the Ottoman.

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Polonian Horsemen (who are verie warlike Nations, and well exercised with continuall warres against the Turkes) and with such an armie of Dutch Horse and Foote, as were requisite for so great an Enterprise, to sayle by the Danowe into *Bosfina*: (hee would say into *Seruaia*, for so was the vpper *Myfia* called in auncient times) and so to goe from thence into *Thracia*, & approaching neare vnto *Constantinople*, the verie seate of the Empire of the *Ottoman*: Secondly, that the king of *France* with all the Forces of his owne kingdome, of the Venetians and of other Princes of *Italie*, accompanied with the Footemen of the Swizzers, should passe from the Hauens of *Brindes*, (aunciently called *Brundisium*,) into *Albania* (an easie and very short passage) to assault *Grecia*, which is full of Christian inhabitants who both in that respect, and in regarde of the crueltie of the Turkish Empire, are very ready and well disposed for a rebellion. Thirdly, that the Kinges of *Spaine*, of *Portugall*, & of *England* should ioyne their Armadaes together at *Cartagena*, and at other Hauens thereaboutes, and so with CC. shippes full of Spanish Footemen, and other souldiers, addresse themselues to the Straites of *Gallipoli*, of purpose to assault *Constantinople* it selfe, after they had wonne the *Dardanelli*, otherwise called the two Castles, situate in the mouth of the saide Streytes. In the which iourney the Pope himselfe would sayle likewise, taking shippe at *Ancona* with C. Beaked shippes (hee would say Gallyes) in his Companie. So that the State and Empire of the Turkes being assaulted both by land and by

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Sea, on all sides, with these preparations. (especially for that the Turkes doe principally build vpon this foundation, to defend themselves in the open field:) it were likely (chiefly by Gods helpe and assistance) that a happie end might be expected and atchieued of so pitifull and lamentable a warre.

§ XXXIII.

^{ours} **I** Would to God it might please his Maiestie, that ^{as} euen as the vniting together of all the Princes Christian agaynst the Turke, either by a proportionable contributing to the expences of so vniuersall and holie an association, or else euerie one of them by himselfe (I speake of such as are more conueniently able to do it then the rest) by setting vpon the enimie all at one time, as this (I say) is thought to bee a matter in the eye and iudgement of man, surely not altogether impossible, but in deed verie hard and difficult, especially in these dayes, for the finnes of the world, which require wrath and calamitie: So hee would vouchsafe with the eie of his iustice to looke vpon the *Ottoman*, that he bee no longer the rodde and scourge of his Diuine furie against vs, but like an vnprofitable wretch, and proude *Colossus*, he may at the last bee broken into verie small peeces, by the stone of his Diuine power: or at the least, with the eye of his mercie, to beholde the Christian Princes, and to inspire into their heartes a minde and desire to binde themselves together in one, with the bond of true Charitie, euen as there is but one faith which they professe

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professe, and one Church wherein all true beleeuers do liue, (and therefore is called a cōgregation:) to the end that leauing those subtrill cōsiderations of their priuate interests and commodities, either in regard that their states are verie neer vnto the enimie, or in respect of the power of some, and the weaknes of others, or because the gaine and profite can not be equall and alike to euerie man, without any greedinesse of commaunding, and without ambition of reigning, one in the East, another in the South, they would vnite themselves, not (as it were) for ceremonie & fashions sake, (for so *Guicciardin* himselfe saith) as these matters and practises haue heretofore been handled. But with effect, and in the zeale of true religion and pietie, with the glorie of his diuine Maiestie, and their owne saluation, against al the enemies of his most holy name: Imitating therein, that great *Godfrey of Boleine*, not onely in resolution, but also, (if need should so require) in alienating their owne proper states & dominions, as he did with the dukedom of *Boleine*, that so he might haue means to make & maintaine war against the same tyrant: as many other of those Lords did, that concurred in that holy league, whereof we haue told you before. Wherevpon it pleased the Lord of Hosts, either for our instruction, or for our shame and confusion, so to work with them that they recovered the holy Sepulchre, and with verie great glorie subdued all the East.

FINIS.